Vol. XXVII. No. 105 *March 1938*

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

I. The Nazi Movement in Germany .. *Denis O'Keeffe*
II. The National Problem of Nutrition *William R. Fearon*
III. Comments on the Foregoing Article
George O'Brien *E. J. Sheehy* *T. W. T. Dillon*
Henry Kennedy *James M. Dillon* *Edward J. Coyne*
IV. Problems of Social Security in U.S.A. *John O'Grady*
V. William Carleton .. .. *Roger McHugh*
VI. Some Impressions of Sweden .. *Violet Conolly*
VII. Irish Bardic Poems—No. 45 .. *Lambert McKenna*
VIII. William Jackson and Wolfe Tone .. *Frank MacDermot*
IX. Political Background of the "Oresteia" *M. Tierney*
X. Catholic Medical Missions .. *Edward F. Garesché*
XI. Vulnerability of Ireland in War .. *J. J. O'Connell*
XII. Michael Bakunin and Spanish Anarchism *E. Allison Peers*
XIII. Reviews of Books

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HENRY J. CAMPBELL, *General Manager.*

AUDITORS :
KEAN & CO., Chartered Accountants, 46 Dame Street.

HEAD OFFICE—27 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 31st day of January, 1938.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1937, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date and a copy of the Auditors' Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£40,468	0	6
To which has to be added :—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account ...	29,881	18	0
	£70,349	18	6
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of	£10,000	0	0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz. :—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of **Twelve** per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	30,000	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account ...	2,500	0	0
To next Account	27,849	18	6
	£70,349	18	6

The Reserve Fund now stands at £720,000.

In September last MR. THOMAS LEVINS MOORE, who had been a Director of the Bank since 1910, felt himself compelled to tender his resignation from the Board owing to the state of his health. His resignation and his subsequent death were deeply regretted by the Directors.

The Directors have co-opted MR. CHARLES MARTIN O'KELLY to fill the vacancy on the Board.

The Directors retiring by rotation are MR. PATRICK JOSEPH BRADY and MR. CHARLES ERNEST LAMBKIN. They are eligible and offer themselves for re-election.

In accordance with the provisions of the Companies (Consolidation) Act, 1908, it will be necessary for the Shareholders to elect Auditors for the ensuing year. MESSRS. KEAN & COMPANY, the present Auditors, offer themselves for re-election.

By Order of the Board,
HENRY J. CAMPBELL,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 10*th January*, 1938.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

INCORPORATED IN IRELAND.

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1937. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
To Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000	0	0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	1,053,807	0	0
,, Reserve Fund	720,000	0	0	,, Investments, viz.:—			
,, Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ...£550,000 0 0				War Loan, Irish Free State National Loans, and other Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding as per contra) ...	4,775,688	12	9
Less: Held by the Bank ... 55,838 0 0	494,162	0	0	Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks, and other Securities	302,992	16	8
,, Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	10,685,205	6	11		6,132,488	9	5
,, Sundry Agents	47,760	3	5	,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ...	6,202,301	1	6
,, Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	4,689	6	6	,, Sundry Agents	9,342	5	8
,, Profit and Loss Account ...£70,349 18 6				,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), at cost, less amounts written off	168,034	18	9
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0	60,349	18	6				
	£12,512,166	15	4		£12,512,166	15	4

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 31st DECEMBER, 1937.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees (£2,000), Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay	114,453	15	7	By Balance from last Account ...	29,881	18	0
,, Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000	0	0	,, Gross Profit for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	154,921	16	1
,, Dividend to be paid in February, 1938, subject to deduction of £ s. d. Income Tax ... 30,000 0 0							
,, Bank Premises Acct. 2,500 0 0							
,, Balance to next Acct. 27,849 18 6	60,349	18	6				
	£184,803	14	1		£184,803	14	1

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required in the course of our examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

We have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 31st December, 1937, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. We have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in our opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

KEAN & COMPANY, Chartered Accountants,
Auditors.

DUBLIN, 10th January, 1938.

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VOL. XXVII No. 105

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

MARCH 1938

CONTENTS

		PAGE
I. THE NAZI MOVEMENT IN GERMANY	*Rev. Professor Denis O'Keeffe, M.A.*	1
II. NATIONAL PROBLEM OF NUTRITION	*Professor William R. Fearon, F.T.C.D.*	12
III. COMMENTS ON THE FOREGOING ARTICLE		23
Professor George O'Brien, D.Litt.	*E. J. Sheehy, D.Sc.*	
Professor Dr. T. W. T. Dillon.	*Henry Kennedy, D.Sc.*	
James M. Dillon, T.D.	*Edward J. Coyne, S.J.*	
IV. PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL SECURITY IN U.S.A.	*Rev. Professor John O'Grady, Ph.D.*	35
V. WILLIAM CARLETON	*Roger McHugh, M.A.*	47
VI. SOME IMPRESSIONS OF SWEDEN	*Violet Conolly, D.Econ. Sc.*	63
VII. IRISH BARDIC POEMS—No. 45	*Lambert McKenna, S.J.*	71
VIII. THE JACKSON EPISODE IN 1794	*Frank MacDermot*	77
IX. POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE "ORESTEIA"	*Professor Michael Tierney, M.A.*	93
X. CATHOLIC MEDICAL MISSIONS	*Edward F. Garesché, S.J.*	111
XI. THE VULNERABILITY OF IRELAND IN WAR	*Colonel J. J. O'Connell, M.A.*	125
XII. MICHAEL BAKUNIN AND SPANISH ANARCHISM	*Professor E. Allison Peers, M.A.*	136

XIII. REVIEWS OF BOOKS:

Christ and Womankind, 142.—L'Eglise et l'Etat, 145.—Das Leben Marias der Mutter Jesu, 147.—Saint Augustine of Hippo, 148.—Pilgrims they were all, 148.—Hommes d'Etat, 151.—Richard Porson, 153.—The Diary of Humphrey O'Sullivan, 154.—A Humane Psychology of Education, 156.—Sex Psychology in Education, 156.—The Charity School Movement, 157.—Glanerought and the Petty-Fitzmaurices, 158.—The Economic History of Cork, 160.—Virgilio nel Medio Evo, 162.—History of the Art of War in the XVI Century, 164.—Histoire de l'Eglise, 165.—Japan over Asia, 167.—History of Political Theory, 169.—Assignment in Utopia, 170.—Lyra Martyrum, 173.—English Catholic Poets, 173.—Das katholische Schrifttum im heutigen England, 173.—The Holy Eucharist in Middle English Homiletic and Devotional Verse, 173.—The Works of Morris and Yeats in relation to Early Saga Literature, 175.

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BY REV. DENIS O'KEEFFE, M.A.

Professor of Ethics and Politics, University College, Dublin

THE late Baron von Hügel, during the Great War, wrote a book on *The German Soul.* The time, perhaps, was inopportune; but his treatment was detached, and he did genuinely make an effort to penetrate to the questions upon which intelligent curiosity inevitably centres. He thought that he could trace in the intellectual and political movements of the nineteenth century the roots from which later catastrophes had grown. This idea of historical evolution can be overworked. It expresses, nevertheless, a profound truth. People, it has been said, are governed more by their characters than by their institutions. Historical movements are never mere improvisations. And so at the present time what will interest the intelligent inquirer into the Nazi movement is whether it can be regarded as a mere accident of history, an outcome of the folly of the Allies, or as something deeper, something springing from the German character, an expression, however crude, of what von Hügel called the German soul. It can scarcely be more than a very partial expression, because it seems impossible to believe that any considerable body of German opinion can approve of the murders of June 30th, of the persecution of the Jews, of the attempts to suppress or remodel the Christian Churches, of the crude theories of racial superiority, of compulsory sterilization and of the fantastic revivals of paganism.

The literature of the subject is unsatisfactory, arousing our curiosity rather than satisfying it. There is no book known to me as penetrating as von Hügel's study of an earlier phase of German mentality. Perhaps the time has not yet

**The House that Hitler Built.* By Stephen H. Roberts. (Methuen. 1937. 12s. 6d.)
The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism. By Robert A. Brady. (Gollancz. 1937. 12s. 6d.)
The Future of Bolschevism. By Waldemar Gurian. (Sheed and Ward. 1936. 3s. 6d.)
A False Utopia. Collectivism in Theory and Practice. By W. H. Chamberlin. (Duckworth. 1937. 7s. 6d.)

come for any adequate appreciation of the significance of the Nazi movement. It is still in a state of transition and will, one hopes, evolve into something quite different from what it at present appears. None of the books referred to here attempts to go very deep. Professor Roberts' book is a quite adequate and readable account of the history of the movement, with some critical comment. It is written, he tells us, "primarily for the man-in-the-street who wishes to have some idea of the German experiment." Professor Brady raises unfounded hopes when he professes to treat of "the Spirit and Structure of German Fascism." He does give an excellent treatment of the structure, but is less successful in capturing the spirit. The reason is that Professor Brady, as an orthodox Communist, interprets everything in accordance with the Marxian idea of the materalistic interpretation of history. This is a principle which enables the Communist to explain everything and to understand nothing. Historical causation is much too manifold for any simple formula. The one significant criticism Professor Brady seems to offer is that National Socialism exists for the sake of the big business interests, which have subsidised it, and that its structure is simply copied from the structure of the big business organisations. This does not carry us very far.

Waldemar Gurian and W. H. Chamberlin seem to agree in holding that there is no essential difference between the practical political systems of Bolschevism and Nazism. They are both systems of State propaganda on a vast scale combined with terrorism. The organisation of the Nazi party is in fact modelled on that of the Communist party in Russia—the party organisation in both cases existing side by side with the state organisation and functioning to some extent independently. Both movements, these writers suppose, are likely to endure unless they collapse as the result of an unsuccessful war. In the modern State whoever has control of the armed forces is in an impregnable position.

The success of the Nazi movement seems to lie in two directions: in the new spirit of hope with which it has inspired the nation and in its immediate and striking victories

in the domain of foreign policy. The Versailles treaty is now generally admitted to have been a monstrous folly. The idea that a proud and powerful nation could be kept in a condition of permanent subordination was obviously absurd. Professor Roberts admits the success of the Nazi leaders in this direction. He also finds much that is admirable in the Labour Camps and in the Hitler Youth Movement. Professor Brady rightly emphasises some of the obvious disadvantages of these two experiments. On the economic side Professor Roberts, who is himself an economist, thinks the German position very insecure. The interference with the legal system he regards as altogether lamentable, and the attempt to control and dominate the Churches a definite failure. He writes :—

> Almost from the first National Socialism found itself at variance with the Churches. It is true that Article 24 of the Party programme said that " the Party is built on the base of a positive Christianity," but the whole trend of the Nazi philosophy and practice entailed a conflict with the Churches. A totalitarian State could brook no other loyalties within its borders, and it became part and parcel of the Nazi programme not only to allow no other organizations, but to smash them. The difference of opinion broadened into a struggle over the question of rival youth organizations and the education of the young. It soon became impossible for a man to become a good Nazi and a good Catholic at the same time.[1] . . . . A student of history would have hesitated before raising the forces of religion against him, but Hitler felt that he had evolved a force greater than that of any religion . . . . Even from the crudest secular point of view his policy has been impolitic, to say the least. He seems to have encouraged a deliberate conflict between his ideology and that of the Churches, whereas an astute statesman would have avoided such an issue at all costs.[2]

The totalitarian idea—apart altogether from the pagan movements—involves of necessity a conflict with Christianity. And although history seems to show the danger and the futility of such a struggle, political leaders, particularly when inexperienced, are apt to fancy that they possess a new technique of persecution or a new dominance over men's minds which negative the lessons of history. The immense efficiency of modern propaganda, the ease of communication

[1] pp. 268-9. [2] pp. 280-1.

which annihilates distance and enables central control and terrorism to be all-pervasive, the intoxication of political power for those who have no traditions as to its limitations, the capture of the youthful mind by shutting out all other information and experience are all factors in this situation. Dr. Johnson once said that he would not give a half-a-guinea to live under one form of government rather than another, so little did laws and governments affect the happiness of men. This could be plausibly maintained in the eighteenth century, for in this case Johnson was expressing his settled opinion and not merely "talking for victory." But it is not so now. The totalitarian State has changed the whole perspective of men's lives and is attempting to plunge large parts of the world, ancient and cultured peoples, into the slavery from which Christianity, with its unswerving sense of human dignity, had rescued them. It is quite clear that no intelligent Christian, understanding the situation and expressing a free opinion, could possibly favour such a system. The almost unanimous plebiscites would be more convincing if they were less unanimous. They were not, of course, concerned with problems of this kind, but cleverly directed to problems upon which Germans were agreed. The reason why opposition is not very vocal is only too evident. The most appropriate time for a discourse on the evils of dishonesty is not the moment when one is covered by the rifle of a bandit. Swift is reputed to have said that the secret of the Irish difficulty lay in the fact that ten Englishmen fully armed are more than a match for one Irishman in his shirt. In a temporary way force can be mightily persuasive. But a planned unanimity carries little weight with the discerning.

It would be too much to expect behind the Nazi Movement a coherent political philosophy. This, no doubt, will be attempted later. At present we find a number of ideas, derived from various sources, forming, if not a logical system, at least a kind of political ideal or programme. There is first a racial theory. There is also a theory of the relation of the State to the individual. The State has often been regarded by political theorists as an end

in itself. For Hitler it is not an end but a means. It exists, in Germany at least, to secure the racial purity of the Nordic race. The German " Aryans " are a race whose inherent superiority marks them out to rule—not apparently, themselves, but the rest of the world. " The fundamental principle," Hitler tells us in *Mein Kampf*, " is that the State is not an end but a means. It is not the cause of, but a condition preliminary to the formation of a higher human culture. The cause consists exclusively in the existence of a race capable of culture."

This type of State is the " folk-state." Its highest aim is " care for the preservation of those original race-elements which, as the dispensers of culture and civilisation, create the beauty and the dignity of a loftier mankind." We must not judge a State by its strength in relation to other States nor even by the level of its culture, but solely by " the goodness of its institutions for its own people," by the way in which it preserves and promotes purity of racial composition. Judged by this standard, Germany has hitherto been defective and this is the reason why Germany lost the war. " The Germans lack that infallible herd-instinct which comes from unity of blood and, especially in moments of danger, saves nations from destruction." Germany lost the mastery of the world because it had within itself unassimilated race-elements.

This racial theory, derived from de Gobineau and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, has been developed most elaborately by Rosenberg in his book *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*. " The Nazi assumes that society is an organism of people of the same race; he assumes that mentality follows race; he assumes that an accident of birth is the sole determinant of a man's fitness to be a member of a community. He does not attempt to justify these assumptions. He simply states them as facts that cannot be questioned, still less refuted."[1]

Moreover, all races are not equal. Biologically mankind is divided into one superior race—the Aryans or sometimes the Nordic race—and the other degraded slave-races. " Among the inferior types two stand out (the Jewish-Slavs and the

[1] Roberts, p. 51.

Jewish-Negro-French), and unfortunately accidents of history placed both of these in a temporary advantage over the pure Teutonic Aryans."[1] "People like Rosenberg and Günther honestly believe that most, if not all, creative works in the past came from the Nordics."[2] It would be difficult to estimate how far all this pseudo-scientific nonsense is accepted in Germany. It is futile to criticise it, because it has no scientific value whatever and is merely a theory *pour rire*. But a doctrine or myth of this kind can have great psychological importance and immense significance as propaganda. It is a natural tendency for nations to seek an escape from the inadequacies of the present in a mythical past. This is a common experience in all countries. But it requires a portentous absence of humour to accept the theory in the form given to it in Nazi literature—in this form it is altogether pathological.

A certain minimum of self-esteem is, no doubt, necessary for the nation as for the individual. And unsuccessful peoples, in moments of stress, may have difficulty in reaching it. This is the purpose of the great mass-propaganda. It aims at restoring self-respect to a defeated people. In moderation racial feeling may be at the worst an amiable weakness, at the best a proper pride. The Greek, with much justice, thought himself superior to the barbarian. And in a negative way, we have all heard, nearer home, of "lesser breeds without the law" and of "the wild hysterics of the Celt." But these are momentary lapses, sporadic emotions, obstructions around which the free waters of sanity continuously flow. A certain infusion of humility is equally necessary for the nation as for the individual if they are to be tolerable to their neighbours. These extreme racial theories are logically absurd. They involve principles and beliefs which no one but an idiot could accept with any genuine conviction, and in practice they imply a type of conduct which no one but a very base type of criminal could carry into effect. One must, if possible, think well of one's nation as of one's family. But it is not a subject upon which we need to be over-vocal. In

[1] Roberts, p. 52. [2] Roberts, p. 52.

no sphere of experience is Aristotle's theory more true, that virtue lies in a certain moderation. It is the very essence of the Christian attitude that there is in the moral sphere neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free. In the magnificent sentence of St. Gregory—so frequently misunderstood—" omnes namque natura aequales sumus "—all equal in nature, but with individual and national gifts which contribute to enrich the general fund of human experience. A world of Nordic men scarcely bears thinking about. Racial pride in its extreme forms is almost always grounded on an inferiority complex. I take the following quotation from Count Hermann Keyserling's book, *The Travel Diary of a Philosopher* :—

> No example proves the point better than that of the Englishman. Whenever I meet one of the representatives of this people, I am shocked by the contrast between the dearth of their talents, the limitation of their horizon, and the measure of recognition which every one of them exacts from me as from everybody else. Even the more eminent Englishmen . . . can hardly be taken seriously as intellectuals. . . . . They all think, feel and act alike ; there are no surprises in the inner life of any of them. . . . . The infinitely richer nature of the German has not yet found its form, and on this account he is not yet accepted anywhere unless there be some compelling reason.

One can sympathise with the feelings of the worthy Count. His book, of course, is not tainted with the crude Nazi nonsense. And he would scarcely think that if the Nazi movement succeeds in remoulding Germans closer to the Nordic type, this would be " finding their form."

There is, of course, nothing new in this exaltation of the German race and of German culture. Von Hügel finds it already, in an unhealthy form, in Fichte's *Reden*. Hegel discovers the ultimate realisation of freedom in the Prussian State ! There does definitely seem to be more of this kind of thing in serious German literature than one finds in French or in English. Very tragic results can follow where such doctrines possess uneducated minds. All countries suffer from occasional spasms of super-patriotism, chauvinism, jingoism, or whatever one may call it. It is a different matter when it is developed into a serious philosophy of life and carried out in practice in the persecution of supposed inferior races.

The ultimate wisdom in this matter may be found in the words of Pope Pius XI (*Mit brennender Sorge*) :—

> He who takes the race, or the people, or the State, or the form of Government, or the bearers of the power of the State, or other fundamental elements of human society—which in the temporal order of things have an essential and honourable place—out of the system of their earthly valuation, and makes them an ultimate norm of all, even of religious values, and deifies them with an idolatrous worship, perverts and falsifies the order of things created and commanded by God.

As the State exists to maintain racial purity, Hitler next proceeds to explain what precise type of state-organisation this task implies. It implies the leadership of a strong-willed minority. " World history," he tells us, " is made by minorities when a minority embodies a majority of will-power and strength of decision." A small percentage of this kind rises to be lord over the whole. This is the principle from which springs the authoritarian State. One is reminded in this and similar Nazi pronouncements of Nietzsche's theory of the superman and of his interpretation of evolution in an aristocratic sense. Strength and genius can only be embodied in the few—the leaders of men. The elimination of the weak and the unfit is a basic principle of the evolution of life. " The weak are going to the wall and in God's name let us help to push them." Sympathy and benevolence spring from a mistaken Christian slave-morality, an invention of the weak to outwit the strong. The fundamental principle of morals for " the blond beast " is : Be hard.

All this leads to an aristocracy of the strong. It is commonly said that the Germans prefer an autocratic government. And history gives support to such a view. It would not, however, be a fair inference from the failure of the Weimar republic ; for democracy in modern Germany had to function under conditions which scarcely admitted of success. If democracy be regarded as the best type of government, then it must be admitted that the Germans are " a politically retarded race." But the problem of the best type of government has little practical application. An authoritarian government in some form or other may be the best political

organisation for the Germans, particularly if they prefer it. Catholic political theory is tolerant of any form of political organisation which is directed to the general good. The Catholic Church in the centuries of its existence has encountered all kinds and degrees of political organisation and is favourable to any form which is just. It is tied to no one type or system. But the totalitarian State in its very idea is unchristian; and the Nazi State is in its scope totalitarian. This is not as a rule expressly stated, but it is implied both in the theory and practice of Nazism. The totalitarian State includes as a part of itself—not so much logically as practically—the Machiavellian idea of the *raison d'état*, the belief that the State is above or apart from morality and that to be efficient, it must take account only of its own interests. It is unnecessary to emphasise the fact that this is opposed to the whole Christian tradition. The competence of the State, however wide, does not exhaust the whole sphere of human experience. There are aspects of human life that fall outside its scope. The omnicompetent State is a pagan idea.

In this matter the world owes two doctrines to Christianity and to the teaching of the Catholic Church—the assertion of the dignity and value of human personality and the theory of natural rights. It would not be possible to go into the history of these ideas here. Whatever anticipations of them existed in the world of Graeco-Roman philosophy, both of them acquired a new depth and significance in the Christian scheme. Outside the Christian scheme there is no real security for the individual—certainly not in a mere doctrine of expediency or utility, as was suggested by the Benthamite school in their shallow attack upon the theory of natural rights. The State or those who for the moment dispose of state-power will always interpret expediency in their own interests. The true freedom and dignity of man rest "on the basic fact that man as a person possesses God-given rights, which must be preserved from all attacks aimed at denying, suppressing, or disregarding them. To pay no heed to this truth is to overlook the fact that the true public good is finally determined and recognised by the nature of man with its harmonious co-

ordination of personal rights and social obligations."[1] The strength and stability of the State itself depend in the long run upon a recognition of these unchanging truths. There may seem to be immediate advantages in the denial of the rights of individuals, of families or of groups, just as the administration of the State would, on a narrow view, be immensely facilitated if its subjects were a body of chained slaves. Yet, not merely Christian philosophy but all human experience go to show the ultimate unwisdom of any system of unbridled autocracy or any attempt to deny the natural liberties on which the dignity of human personality rests. This constant and unchanging philosophy of the Catholic church has been, as Lord Acton pointed out, the basis and the guarantee of the true liberty of man. The Liberal Democratic State has at times been as great an enemy to freedom as the worst autocracy. What needs to be vindicated against the encroachment of the State—or rather of the government, of the small body of persons who at any moment is the depositary of power—is not abstract freedom, but the concrete liberties which spring from "God-given rights." The idea that efficiency can be secured by dragooning men, by the activity of officials directing robots whose sole function is to do whatever the administration demands, is an almost universal disease of the modern politician. A deeper political wisdom will see that efficiency itself is based on a respect for rights, on making life worth living, on reverencing in the widest possible sense the free spirit of man.

And what is to be thought of the future of Germany? In politics it is unwise to prophesy. Professor Roberts thinks that the Nazi movement will end in a military autocracy. Is it too much to hope that there may be among the German political leaders men of high moral character whose influence, if at present submerged, will later shape the movement to nobler ends? Professor Roberts' account of the acknowledged leaders may perhaps be too pessimistic. The practical experience of the difficulties of government may have a sobering influence. The strength of the support behind these

[1] Pius XI: *Mit brennender Sorge.*

leaders, if often exaggerated, must be considerable. It marks the decline of Christian ideals, due to many and varied causes, which in European countries is a depressing feature of our time as it was of the later eighteenth century. When men have no other religion, they will often seek one in the worship of their race and country—*Blut und Erde.* And still can we doubt that the future of humanity, all that is great and noble in the European heritage, rises or falls with the great Christian tradition ? Pagan ideas can only exercise a fascination on the ignorant. " Au fond une grande source d'humanité que cette religion catholique, et je m' irrite de voir des intelligences et des esprits se mettre à genoux devant la religion sans entrailles de l'antiquité. Tout le tendre, tout le sensitif, tout le beau émoi du moderne vient du Christ." [1]

Those who realise what the world owes to German culture and to German learning cannot help viewing the present state of affairs with deep concern. The world can ill afford to lose the contribution to civilisation which Germany, as a great Christian nation, would be so well qualified to make.

D. O'Keeffe

[1] *Journal des Goncourt*, vol. III, pp. 116-7.

THE NATIONAL PROBLEM OF NUTRITION

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THE nutritional demand is the tax imposed by nature on the living organism. It is collected by two relentless agents—hunger and thirst—and its non-payment is a capital offence, although partial defaulters may escape with the lighter penalties of chronic ill-health or actual disease. For these reasons, the first aspect of the nutritional problem is the individual one ; what are the food requirements of the honest man ?

Foodstuffs and Nutrients

At the outset it is necessary to draw a distinction between the natural and prepared foodstuffs of our dietary and the nutrients, or specific compounds, which go to make up the foodstuffs. Natural foodstuffs are usually complex, and are made more so by the fact that we modify and mix them in various ways. Nutrients, on the other hand, can be divided into simple groups, each of which fulfils particular functions in the maintenance of life. These groups are : (i) water, (ii) inorganic salts, (iii) proteins, the chief source of utilisable nitrogen, (iv) carbohydrates, the most readily assimilated source of energy, (v) fats, the most concentrated source of energy, and (vi) vitamins, the micro-essential constituents of the dietary. We select our foodstuffs in order to obtain an adequate and representative supply of nutrients.

Nutrients may also be divided into : (*a*) essential and (*b*) supplemental. Essential nutriments are elements and compounds which the organism cannot manufacture for itself, but must import ready-made. Supplemental nutrients, such as starches, sugars and fats, are used chiefly as sources of energy, and make up about two-thirds of the ordinary mixed diet. The protein food materials represent a complex type of substance in that they are assembled from a variety of units

termed *amino acids*, of which about thirty are known to occur naturally. At least eight different amino acids are believed to be necessary for the growth and maintenance of man, and proteins are graded according to their content of these essential units. High-grade protein is represented by the caseinogen of milk and by the albumin and globulin of eggs and meat. Low-grade protein, such as the gelatin obtained from bone, is deficient in essential amino acids and cannot support life unless supplemented by high-grade protein.

Translating these facts into more practical terms, foodstuffs are now classified as (i) protective and (ii) energy-supplying, or non-protective, according to their value as sources of the essential nutrients. The chief protective foodstuffs are milk, glandular animal tissues (such as liver and kidney), eggs and fish—all of which provide inorganic salts and vitamins in addition to high-grade protein. With these are included green vegetables and fresh fruits, both of which are important sources of inorganic salts and vitamins, although they are not rich in protein. The energy-supplying foodstuffs are represented by cereals and tubers, by cane or beet sugar, and by animal and vegetable fats.

Since the organism is a chemical furnace, it is possible to regard foodstuffs as fuel and to estimate their value in terms of heat units, or *calories*, about 2,500 of which are required for the daily maintenance of the ordinary adult who is not engaged in manual work. The calorie system of assessing the dietary does not take into account the difference between protective and non-protective foodstuffs, and for this reason it is incomplete. At the same time, it provides the framework within which the dietary must be arranged. Calorie starvation, irrespective of the nature of the diet, leads directly to loss of weight and dysfunction.

The Dietary Requirements of the Individual

At the beginning of the present century the daily food requirements of the average European or American adult were assessed, liberally, as : Protein, 80-100 gm. ; Fat, 100 gm. ; Carbohydrate, 400 gm. Such an intake provided about 3,000

calories of energy, and approximated in composition to the dietaries of the wealthier classes of the communities. Water and inorganic salts were left to chance and inclination. Micro-essential nutrients were unknown. Even at this period, however, three serious diseases—rickets, scurvy and beriberi—were known to be associated in some way with the diet, but many investigators believed that these diseases were due to infection—aggravated, perhaps, by faulty nutrition. Gradually evidence accumulated which showed that, whatever their actual origin, these diseases could be cured specifically by administration of substances closely related to, but not usually regarded as, foodstuffs.

About the year 1906 Professor Hopkins, of Cambridge, was led to infer the existence of a class of nutrients which he termed accessory food factors, and which he postulated were necessary in minute quantities for the normal growth and health of higher animals. Absence of accessory factors from the diet resulted in *deficiency diseases*, of which rickets, scurvy and beriberi were three obvious but by no means exhaustive examples. The term *vitamin* was subsequently applied to these hypothetical factors, and rapidly became popular.

The Invisible Imports of the Human Body

At the present time, at least a dozen different vitamins are known to exist, and the list is being extended painfully by research workers all over the world. In addition to the vitamins, certain chemical elements are also required in minute amounts in the diet, although several of them are harmful if taken in large quantities. Together the vitamins and these biological elements make up the invisible imports of the body, the *micro-essential* nutrients. The vitamins are organic compounds elaborated by plants and stored in protective animal foodstuffs. They are often highly reactive and fragile, and are liable to be destroyed by the operations of cooking and preserving food, unless special precautions be taken. For this reason, vitamin shortage may be intensified by the food habits of the civilised community, which tend more and more to the consumption of manufactured food products.

This danger is now being appreciated by intelligent consumers, who supplement or balance their dietaries by the use of products especially rich in particular vitamins, such as fresh fruit and vegetables, yeast, unmilled cereals and butter or cream.

The universal interest aroused in the vitamins has tended to divert attention from the equally important biological elements, of which calcium, magnesium, iron, copper, manganese, iodine and phosphorus are notable examples.

The Nutritional Requirements of the Individual

When all the known factors are taken into account, the task of planning the individual dietary is formidable enough, and generalisations are made :

1. The calorie intake must be sufficient to provide adequate energy for daily activity in the adult and for growth and activity in the child.
2. The optimal protein intake is assessed at 1 gm. per kgm. body-weight *per diem*, of which not less than one-third must be high-grade protein.
3. The carbohydrate consumption must be at least twice that of fat.
4. The daily calcium requirements is assessed at 1 gm. for children and 0·8 gm. for adults.
5. The daily phosphorus requirement is assessed at 1-1·3 gm.
6. The iron requirement is satisfied by 15 mg. *per diem*, except in ante-natal nutrition, when it should be increased at least two-fold.
7. The vitamin requirements are still under revision. Expressed in terms of international units, the daily intake prescribed is : A, 3,000-4,000 ; B_1, 200-300 ; C, 40-100 ; D, 100-300.

Detailed analyses of the customary foodstuffs are now available, and it is possible to construct dietaries providing the necessary nutrients in adequate amounts. Furthermore, it is possible to say by inspection if a particular diet is good or bad, and how it can be rectified. These conclusions find

expression in the various dietaries accepted as standards in civilised countries, of which the most important are those of Stiebling and Ward for the United States (1933), the British Ministry of Health (1934), and the Health Committee of the League of Nations (1936-7).

STIEBLING AND WARD NUTRITIONAL STANDARDS

Subject	Dietary Standards *per capita per diem*						
	Energy cals.	Protein gm.	Ca gm.	P gm.	Fe mgm.	Vitamin A units	Vitamin C units
Child under 4 years ...	1,200	45	1·0	1·0	6–9	3,000	75
Boy, 4–6; girl, 4–7 ...	1,500	55	1·0	1·0	8–11	3,000	80
Boy, 7–8; girl, 8–10 ...	2,100	65	1·0	1·0	13	3,500	85
Boy, 9–10; girl, 11–13 ...	2,400	75	1·0	1·2	13	3,500	90
Woman, moderately active	2,500	75	1·0	1·2	14	4,000	95
Boy, 11–12; girl, 13 ...	2,500	75	1·0	1·2	14	4,000	95
Woman, very active ...	3,000	75	·88	1·3	15	4,000	100
Boy, 13–15	3,000	75	·88	1·3	15	4,000	100
Man, moderately active ...	3,000	67	·68	1·3	15	4,000	100
Man, very active ...	4,500	67	·68	1·3	15	4,000	100

BRITISH NUTRITIONAL STANDARDS, 1934

Subject	Calories *per diem*	
Child, 1–2 years ...	900–1,000	
,, 2–3 ,, ...	1,100–1,400	
,, 3–6 ,, ...	1,400–1,700	
,, 6–8 ,, ...	1,700–2,000	The protein requirement is set at 80–100 gm. *per diem*, of which not less than one-third must be high-grade, of animal origin.
,, 8–10 ,, ...	2,000–2,300	
,, 10–12 ,, ...	2,300–2,800	
,, 12–14 ,, ...	2,800–3,000	
Girl, 14–18 ,, ...	2,800–3,000	
Boy, 14–18 ,, ...	3,000–3,400	
Woman, housewife ...	2,600–3,000	The average energy requirement of the entire population is rated at 3,000 calories *per capita per diem*.
,, active work ...	2,800–3,000	
Man, light work	2,600–3,000	
,, moderate work ...	3,000–4,000	
,, heavy work ...	3,400–4,000	

The International Standards of Nutrition

The standards advocated by the Health Committee of the League of Nations are in accord with those of Great Britain and the United States. The basic figure for the daily energy requirement of the average adult, living an ordinary life in a temperate climate and not engaged in manual work, is fixed at 2,400 calories net, after the necessary deductions have been

made for waste in cooking and serving. Muscular activity demands the following supplements of calories per hour of work : light work, up to 75 calories ; moderate work, 75-150 calories ; hard work, 150-300 calories ; very hard work, 300 calories and upwards. The energy requirements of children and of nursing mothers are obtained by multiplying the basic figure, 2,400, by appropriate factors.

It is suggested that in the basic diet 1,400 calories should come from protective foodstuffs, and the excessive use of highly milled cereals and sugar is deprecated. Fish liver oils provide valuable supplementary sources of the vitamins A and D. Milk should form a conspicuous part of the diet of all ages, being a rich source of calcium, phosphate and the vitamins B_1 and B_2. Special attention is directed to the value of the potato as a source of calories and of starch ; it is particularly suited to be a substitute for much of the sugar and cereal in the modern European dietary.

A very important contribution by the Health Committee of the League is the proposed dietary scheme for pregnancy and lactation. Under these conditions the maternal organism is bearing a double burden, often amid very unfavourable circumstances, and the effects of malnutrition during these critical periods are doubly unfortunate in that they affect the health of two individuals.

The Adequacy of the Individual Diet

The adequacy of a particular diet may be investigated in three ways : theoretically, by comparison with the standard diet recommended for the individual conditions ; practically, by observing the state of health of the consumer of the diet and by applying various clinical tests for nutritional deficiency ; lastly, by studying the effect of modifying or supplementing the diet by specific nutrients.

Lack of vitamin A may be detected by measuring the power of the eye to adapt itself to dim light, a property which is characteristically impaired in the condition of " night-blindness." Lack of vitamins B_1 and C may be inferred from the analysis of the urine for these factors. Lack of vitamin D is

shown by changes in the phosphatase of the blood. Iron deficiency is revealed by estimations of the blood pigment, haemoglobin, the level of which is subnormal in conditions of nutritional anaemia. A diet may be unsatisfactory, even when all the necessary nutrients are adequately represented, if it is overbalanced by excess of a particular type of food material, the carbohydrates starch and sugar are most likely to be present in excessive amounts owing to the steady trend of civilised nations towards increased sugar consumption. A diet overloaded with starch is liable to lead to carbohydrate dyspepsia, which Hurst and Knott (1931) regard as one of the commonest alimentary disorders of the present time. A diet overloaded with cane or beet sugar is possibly one of the factors in the spread of diabetes mellitus among civilised communities.

The National Problem of Nutrition

The practical objection to the modern dietary standards is that they are counsels of perfection. They demand an expenditure of money and intelligence, both by the individual and by the state, if their benefits are to be experienced by a large section of the community. Now, while it is obvious that certain groups of the population are well-fed, perhaps unnecessarily well-fed, it is equally obvious that other groups are badly nourished down to the level of starvation. "One half of the world does not know how the other half dies."

This raises the fundamental question of the relationship between health, food expenditure and income, and has been made the subject of an important study by Sir John Orr (1936, 1937). The total food supplies of the British Isles were computed from agricultural and trade returns, the population was divided into six groups according to family incomes, and the composition of the dietary of each group was investigated and compared with the appropriate standard dietary. Of an estimated national income of £3,750,000,000, annually about £1,075,000,000 is spent on food, which is equivalent to 9s. per week out of an average weekly income of 30s. *per capita*.

The estimated expenditure by the different groups is shown in the following table.

Group	Percentage of Total Population	Individual Weekly Income	Individual Weekly Food Expenditure
I	10	Up to 10s.	4s.
II	20	10s.–15s.	6s.
III	20	15s.–20s.	8s.
IV	20	20s.–30s.	10s.
V	20	30s.–45s.	12s.
VI	10	Over 45s.	14s.

Consumption of bread and potatoes is almost uniform throughout the different income groups. Consumption of protective foods is, as might be expected, minimal in the poorest group, which numbers more than four and a half million people condemned to a diet deficient in every constituent. The diet of the second group, nine million people, is deficient in vitamins and in inorganic salts. Complete nutritional adequacy is almost reached in the fourth group, and in the higher groups there is a surplus of all constituents. A review of the state of health of the groups suggests that, as income increases, disease and death-rate decrease, children grow more quickly, and general health and physique improve.

At least two aspects of the national problem of nutrition demand the resources of statecraft and the enactments of government : (1) the internal production and distribution of foodstuffs ; (2) the external dependence of the community on foreign supplies, especially in times of war. The first comprehensive attempt to deal with these aspects of national nutrition was made by the United States Department of Agriculture, which in 1933, issued a programme prepared by Stiebling and Ward—a programme which might well serve as a pattern for many European countries. Stiebling and Ward submitted four practical dietaries :—

1. A " restricted diet for emergency use," which provides 2,675 calories *per diem*, costs 17 cents *per diem*, and requires 1·2 acres (exclusive of grazing land) *per capita per annum* to produce.

2. An "adequate diet at minimum cost," which provides 2,980 calories, costs 24 cents *per diem*, and requires 1·4 acres *per capita per annum*.
3. An "adequate diet at moderate cost," which provides 2,985 calories, costs 42 cents, and requires 1·8 acres *per capita*.
4. A "liberal diet," which provides 2,930 calories, costs 51 cents, and requires about 2·1 acres.

The difference between these four nutritional levels depends on the relative content of grain products, dried beans and potatoes as compared with animal products, vegetables and fruits. The composition as regards nutrients is shown in the following table.

DAILY SUPPLY	Diet 1	Diet 2	Diet 3	Diet 4
Carbohydrate, gm.	398	397	370	310
Fat, gm.	87	115	130	149
Calcium, gm.	0·85	1·28	1·26	1·27
Phosphorus, gm.	1·34	1·72	1·58	1·61
Iron, mgm.	11·1	13·4	14·4	15·2
Vitamin A, units	2,746	5,037	5,692	6,495
Vitamin C, units	86	118	168	206
Total calories	2,675	2,980	2,985	2,930
Animal protein, percentage of total diet	25	39	47	66

In 1935 the League of Nations set up a Mixed Committee on the Problem of Nutrition, and the results of its findings are now available in two reports. The first of these, published in four volumes during 1936, is devoted to explaining the new concepts which, in the opinion of scientific investigators, should govern human nutrition. This report also describes the effects of disregarding the rules of nutrition, and makes various recommendations in regard to the framing of national nutrition policies. The final report, published in the autumn of 1937, is concerned with the economic and agricultural aspects of the nutrition problem. It traces the recent tendencies in food consumption habits and in agricultural production, and examines the significance of food prices and income in determining nutritional levels and the scope of education in determining food habits. Lastly, the report shows that, in spite of all the improvements that have taken place since 1920,

malnutrition in varying degrees of severity still exists in all countries—even in those on the highest plane of general living. In 1937 the British Advisory Committee on Nutrition, appointed by the Minister of Health and the Secretary of State for Scotland, issued its first report. The scope of the Committee may be summarised in the three questions put before the members: (1) Is there sufficient food produced in, or imported into, the country to ensure for everyone a diet in conformity with the principles of modern knowledge? (2) Are the diets of the different sections of the population adequate in every respect in the light of recent advances in the knowledge of nutrition? (3) Is the state of nutrition of every section as good as it could be made by the application of modern knowledge? The activities of the Committee involved a wide survey of food supplies, diets and the state of nutrition of the population on a scale hitherto unattempted in any country, and the findings showed that each of the reference questions must be answered in the negative. The food produced in and imported into the United Kingdom is sufficient to ensure an adequate supply of calories and proteins for everyone, but this supply does not find its way to the members of the poorest group. The national diet, as a whole, is deficient in certain protective foodstuffs—notably in milk, eggs and green-leaf vegetables. The average consumption of milk *per capita*, for example, is only half what it should be. Among its recommendations the Committee observes: *White flour* in the process of Milling is deprived of important nutritive elements. "Its use should be decreased, and partial substitution by *lightly milled cereals*, and especially by *potatoes*, is recommended." These conclusions, it will be seen, are in agreement with those independently arrived at by the Health Committee of the League of Nations.

The Nutritional Problem in Ireland

It is a matter of historic interest that the first worker to compute a nation's actual food supply, imported and home-produced, in terms of proteins and calories was the late Professor W. H. Thompson, of Dublin University, and he chose

Ireland for his study, begun in 1912. Since then, knowledge of the science of nutrition has been advanced enormously, and Thompson's pioneer work has been pursued in every civilised country—though least of all in his own. The subject of Ireland's nutritional demand presents many difficult features, linked as it is with the larger problems of agriculture, economics and national reorganisation.

In the absence of accurate data regarding the food habits of the different groups of the Irish population, it is premature to speculate on the nutritional state of the country. Such investigation is being planned, and it is hoped will awaken public attention to the fact that health is the best form of national investment. That in many of its aspects the Irish nutritional problem is acute is a matter of daily observation by social workers and organisations engaged in the care of the mothers among the poorest classes of the city communities. As an example of conditions in Dublin, the prevalence of nutritional anaemia among ante-natal patients has been established by the work of Dr. G. C. Dockeray and others, who report haemoglobin values as low as 50-60 per cent. of the normal in representative groups of subjects. The corresponding figures obtained by McCance for London show a minimal value of 75 per cent. in the poorest families, an observation which has occasioned much concern among English workers. It also appears reasonable to surmise that a calcium and a phosphate deficiency also characterises the diet of the poorest classes, and the soft-water supply, which is one of the civic amenities of Dublin, must be recognised as a potential factor in impoverishing the calcium supply of the individual.

But apart from the question of specific nutrients, the most serious food deficiency in many city families is food itself. This is most obvious among the mothers, many of whom are sacrificed to the super-tax that poverty imposes on maternity. The application of science to agriculture has produced a technical revolution comparable with, though less spectacular than, the industrial revolution of the last century, and the power and resources of modern knowledge are such that there is no longer any reason why a single member

of the community should lack proper nourishment. To-day, in Europe at least, famine is exceptional; many forms of plagues and pestilence have disappeared and been forgotten; the death-rate has declined and the expectation of life of the individual has been extended. Yet these achievements, great as they are, have tended to obscure the fundamental importance of nutrition in making the general health of the people, just as the haste and excitement of living tend to conceal the fact that many of the diseases of the present-day are induced or aggravated by present-day conditions. With the gradual awakening of the social conscience man has begun to realise three facts. First, the right to health is implicit in the right to live; secondly, the existence of a malnourished and distressed class constitutes an active danger to the community; thirdly, man is more than an individual, he is the member of a social order, the unit of which is the family. He is not merely his brother's keeper; he is a trustee for his brother's children. WILLIAM R. FEARON

Comments on the foregoing Article

NO. 1.—BY GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

Professor of Economics, University College, Dublin

THE problems discussed by Dr. Fearon in his very timely paper are of interest to readers in all countries; but they are of particular interest to Irish readers, because the Irish population is concerned with the advance in standards of nutrition not only as consumers but also as producers of many of those foodstuffs which seem to be coming into fashion. Irish agriculture as well as Irish public health will probably benefit by the new developments that are taking place in dietetic research. The great increase in the attention devoted by economists to human nutrition is the result of several causes. Recent years have witnessed a great improvement in agricultural technique which, together with the growth of agricultural protection, has led to an unprecedented increase in the output of foodstuffs and a consequent "over-production" of certain important crops. At the same time many urban workers have been obviously underfed, and the spectacle of "poverty in the midst of plenty" has awakened public interest and stirred up much indignation—which, strangely enough, is frequently directed against the economists, who are in no way to blame for the evil paradox.

The failure of the unsatisfied demand of the hungry masses to absorb the over-abundant supply of the impoverished farmers has given rise to the complaint of "under-consumption," and numerous irrelevant and inadequate monetary devices have been suggested to bridge the gap between producer and consumer, which is, in fact, the result mainly of insufficient mobility in the world's economic system.

The admitted malnutrition of a large part of the population has awakened the social conscience on humanitarian grounds. But there are other less altruistic reasons for the sudden increase in attention which it has aroused. The recent tendency for the birth-rate to fall has emphasized the importance of improving the quality of the population to the highest possible point. So long as the birth-rate is high, a certain proportion of non-earners can be carried without undue strain; but when the supply of labour begins to decline as the result of a falling birth-rate, every individual's fitness becomes a matter of public concern. There has been a growing realization that the social services may constitute the soundest form of national investment, and that no object of public expenditure is more truly productive than money spent on improving the health and strength of the people. Expenditure on education of all kinds is everywhere accepted to-day as requiring very little apology, and it is generally comprehended that mental education without bodily fitness is of little value. The public health services are being extended in all directions, and the latest department that has received attention is the provision of adequate supplies of suitable food for all classes and especially for the young. The time is coming when the supply of milk will be regarded as a social service needing no more justification than the supply of water.

A policy designed to improve the public health by securing proper nutrition for all must aim at two distinct objectives. In the first place there must be the fullest possible knowledge regarding the science of nutrition in all its aspects, while in the second place everybody must be enabled to obtain sufficient quantities of the most suitable food. The attainment of the former objective necessitates facilities for research, and provision for disseminating the results of the research among consumers. The negative measures of prohibiting unhealthy food, such as the existing Food and Drugs Acts, must be supplemented by positive measures—for example, instruction in dietetics for consumers and especially for parents and schoolmasters. The most perfect instruction will not be of much use to those who are too poor to purchase the desirable types of food, and measures will therefore be necessary to render such food accessible to every member of the population.

The most satisfactory method of increasing the purchasing power of the working classes is to raise wages and to minimize unemployment. How these two desirable objectives can be achieved is obviously too

large a problem to be discussed in a note such as this ; but it may be admitted that they cannot be attained at once and that there will always remain some members of society whose earning capacity is insufficient to provide them with an adequate income. Provision must, therefore, be made for supplying suitable food to those who are unable to purchase it out of their earnings. This can be done either by direct transfers of income paid for by taxation or by the subsidizing of those foodstuffs the consumption of which is socially desirable. The latter alternative, of which the provision of free milk for schoolchildren is an example, is obviously preferable to the former as it involves less waste. There is little doubt that the near future will witness a great extension of such subsidies, especially in Great Britain, where public opinion on this subject is most advanced.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the possibility of increasing the standard of living of the people—whether it be by the improvement of their education, their housing or their nutrition—depends upon the maximization of the national income, which is the fund from which all consumption is derived. This in turn is a problem of enabling production to take place in the most favourable conditions. Efficiency in production will not only raise the standard of living of the producers, but will render possible the extension of the social services for the less fortunate. The threat to the standard of living at the present day is twofold. On the one hand there are the countries where militarism prevails in which the people are asked to sacrifice their butter for guns ; and on the other hand there are the less unfortunate countries where the zeal for social reform has outrun the possibilities of national production. In both cases the standard of living, and therefore the health, of the population is in jeopardy : in the former, because production is being directed into armaments, and in the latter, because enterprise and activity are being discouraged by fears of high taxation and other depressing influences. Humanity is being denied the fruits of technical and scientific progress.

Ireland is a fortunate country in many respects, amongst others in that the commodities which she is naturally most fitted to produce are those for which an expanding demand can be reasonably foretold. If the present conclusions of students of nutrition be not entirely false, the types of food which will receive encouragement from the medical profession in future include many articles for the production of which Irish farmers possess special advantages. The authorities quoted by Dr. Fearon suggest that the British demand for many varieties of foodstuffs of animal origin is far from saturation point, and it is not too much to hope that further developments in nutritional knowledge may favour an increased consumption of many Irish agricultural products both in Ireland and Great Britain. It therefore becomes a

matter of the greatest importance that these commodities should be produced with the utmost efficiency, because the attainment of such efficiency will prove a major factor in determining the size of the Irish national income—the maximization of which, as has been already stated, is the essential condition of raising the standard of living and the health of the country. It is for this reason that the advances in the science of nutrition is of such interest to Irish readers. The new knowledge may lead not only to an improvement in the health of the people regarded as consumers, but also to an increase in their profits as producers, thus enabling them to derive a double benefit from that " marriage of physiology with agriculture " of which Dr. Fearon has proclaimed the banns. GEORGE O'BRIEN

NO. 2.—BY E. J. SHEEHY, D.SC., F.R.C.SC.I.

Lecturer in Animal Nutrition, University College, Dublin

WHERE, as in the case of hospital patients, the food of a group of people is determined by responsible individuals, a suitable dietary is selected. The majority of the community, however, have the privilege of making their own choice, in the exercise of which they need guidance. Hence the necessity for disseminating information regarding the fundamentals of nutrition and their application to every-day life. Professor Fearon's article on the national problem of nutrition will, no doubt, stimulate thought in this direction and provide a basis for continued discussion.

Maintenance of good health, which is more important than its restoration, is the aspect of life with which the science of nutrition is most intimately associated. Certain foods have been labelled " protective " because they provide nutritive factors which cannot be synthesised by the body from other ingredients, and because they supplement, in the making of a complete dietary, foods suffering from deficiencies which, if not corrected, would lead to disaster. Milk, eggs, and fresh green vegetables are among the number, an increased consumption of which is most desirable.

The consumption of milk in Ireland is comparatively low, and possibly the greatest difficulty in the way of increasing it—an achievement hoped for by dairy farmers—is the want, on the part of the public, of a full realisation of its excellence as a food for the growing and adult human. Cows' milk, as obtainable in rural districts and small towns, is one of the cheapest of foods, and even in the cities its price, in relation to its food value, is not exorbitant. Unfortunately, the bogey of milk as a possible carrier of disease organisms has become a fetish with some of those responsible for its clean production. It is known that contamination occurs principally from contact with milk

residues which accumulate in improperly cleaned utensils, air borne infection being a matter of minor importance. Insistence on palatial milking sheds and on expensive plant, for the purpose of preventing air borne infection, reacts adversely on the community by raising the price of the product; and surely the tying-up of cows on an elevated platform of minimum dimensions and the application of cold water to tender parts twice daily prior to milking are extreme precautions which, while liable to do injury to the animals, may not reduce to any appreciable degree the bacterial content of milk.

As a nation our consumption of vegetables is also low. In the cities vegetables are expensive and in the smaller towns they are rare. A drive in the way of an "Eat more vegetables" campaign would, while raising the standard of health, increase the revenue of those who have to make their living on the land. In the past jesting reference has been made to the cabbage and bacon menu of certain classes of rural dwellers. Nowadays greater consumption of the green cabbage type of food is advocated.

The nutritive value of those items of human food which are secondary products of the earth varies with circumstances. The vitamin potency of meat, eggs and milk depends on the vitamin content of the foods consumed by the animals from which these products are obtained. A bullock fed on green forage gives meat of greater vitamin A content than one fed on straw, roots, and meals. Likewise the milk of a cow fed in the open is richer in vitamin D than that of one kept indoors. And again the yellow yoked egg from the fowl fed on yellow maize is higher in Vitamin A than the paler sort produced from white maize. Thus in the national problem of nutrition the farmer is concerned not alone with quantitative output, but also with the nutritive quality of farm products.

Whole meal bread and potatoes are extolled as "healthy" foods. Yet they are predominantly starchy in composition, just as white bread is. It is true that the concentration of the vitamin B complex is greater in the whole grain than in the endosperm from which white bread is made. The effect of whole meal bread, potatoes, fresh vegetables and succulent fruits in the maintenance of tone in the intestine, particularly the large gut, is however to be attributed to the physical character of these foods rather than to their richness in particular nutrients. The evil effects of constipation are quite apparent, as are those of diarrhoea; but between these extremes there is a range at one point of which optimum conditions obtain. Divergence from this optimum point may produce serious though not apparent injury to the organism. Experiments on farm animals, particularly on pigs, show that a slightly costive condition of the bowels may, without necessarily producing constipation, interfere with growth and general

health and progress. In the human, as in the animal, regular evacuation of the gut without recourse to drugs is a condition, as well as evidence, of health.

Human society is entitled to the advantages of the application to dietetics of the newer knowledge of nutrition. For the majority of the community, education must be brought to bear on the problem; but in the case of those whose income precludes them from purchasing sufficient of the more valuable and highly nutritive foods, the question becomes, as indicated by Professor Fearon, an economic one also—and therefore, perhaps, a matter for the State. E. J. SHEEHY

NO. 3.—BY T. W. T. DILLON

Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics, University College, Dublin

OF the many problems raised by Dr. Fearon's article, I shall confine my remarks to two, which are, in my opinion, fundamental. If my comments are couched in dogmatical form, this is not because I regard them as necessarily established truths, but for lack of space which alone would permit of full discussion.

Science is only a safe guide in the correct choice of food when its recommendations are in agreement with secular tradition. Where tradition, which is crystallized experience, proclaims that some foodstuff is wholesome and science comes forward with a substitute, it is wise to be on one's guard. The history of the widespread substitution of margarine for butter, which led, especially in Denmark, to results that we now know to have been the inevitable result of that substitution, is a salutary warning. The Danes preferred to sell their butter and to eat a cheap substitute themselves. Scientists believed, in the pre-vitamin era, that margarine made from vegetable fats was as good a food as butter. They thought of it as a calory provider, and left the quality out of account. Unfortunately, they were wrong; and the Danes paid the unpleasant penalty: indeed they are still paying a yearly tribute of semi-blindness and twisted backs for their misplaced confidence, as the latest nutritional survey from Denmark proves.

But a prudent scepticism should not induce us to scorn the warnings of scientists, when they are directed against bad nutritional habits of recent growth. Such habits arise either from the odd propensity of city populations to develop rapidly new eating habits; the substitution of white for wholemeal bread is a case in point. Or they have their origin in the misdirected ingenuity of applied science in the preparation of foods; the canning industry is the most obvious example. Well-to-do people do not usually suffer from these unnatural eating habits, because their food is varied. What they lose on the swings they gain on the roundabouts. But those who have to make every penny do

the work of two, are unlikely to escape the inevitable consequences of a limited and defective diet. The problem, therefore, as Dr. Fearon has pointed out, is a social one.

There are then certain well-grounded warnings issued by scientists which we in Ireland would do well to take to heart. It has been shown that if you increase your consumption of starch—*e.g.* white bread—you must at the same time increase the vitamin B. Wholemeal bread contains both the starch and the vitamin; white bread, only the starch. In Ireland the extra vitamin was probably taken to some extent as bacon, a food rich in the particular vitamin. The recent prohibition of cheap American bacon may therefore cause a serious gap in the national diet—if, as is alleged, it has been generally replaced by beef, which contains practically no vitamin B.

This example is one of many which might be given to illustrate the point that, when tradition is no longer respected, we have no certain guide in these matters except in so far as the scientist can indicate the danger of any change in dietetic habits. Unfortunately we do not really know what people eat in Ireland—neither how much nor of what quality. A good nutritional survey would be most valuable; and it is welcome news that plans are now being made to carry it out. Till the facts are known, no definite programme of action can be suggested. But it would at least be wise for those in authority to avoid any action tending to increase the price, or diminish the supply, of the more valuable protective foodstuffs traditionally consumed in this country —eggs, bacon, milk and milk products, pork, fruit, and vegetables.

Meanwhile, on one point we now have definite data—*i.e.* the anaemia of pregnant women. These findings confirm the clinical experience of many, and are, I believe, due to a general, and not only an iron, starvation. This at least might be put right at once. T. W. T. Dillon

NO. 4.—BY HENRY KENNEDY, M.A., D.SC.

The new knowledge of nutrition is the work of little more than a quarter of a century. It is the result of continuous and intensive research by scientists all over the civilised world. It is probably far from complete; but it does undoubtedly afford a basis of knowledge of the fundamental factors involved which may lead to a very drastic improvement of the health and well-being of mankind, if the essential economic problems can be solved.

Professor Fearon's paper is of dual interest to this country, as it is of importance in the health of our people and in the economic life of the food-producing section of our population. A very remarkable interest in the bearing of nutrition problems on public health has been shown recently in many countries. The food surveys in Great Britain

and Scandinavian countries and the extraordinarily valuable reports of the Health Committee of the League of Nations indicate the increasing interest of Governments in food problems. It is reassuring, as appears from Professor Fearon's article, that the necessary investigations on food habits is about to take place in this country. That investigation should not be delayed, and it should be comprehensive to include both town and country, and to include all classes.

It is greatly to be feared that food habits have not improved and that there is much starvation—of essential foodstuffs—in the midst of plenty. It is doubtful if the consumption of milk in urban communities is any greater than the very low level in Great Britain, and while the consumption of butter is satisfactory, the use of cheese is negligible. Unfortunately, the cult of the teapot in town and country has led to a lowering of dietary standards—too high a consumption of white bread and sugar as against potatoes and vegetables. It will require much education—and that education should begin in the elementary schools—to create a proper perspective on food questions in the minds of our people.

As a food-producing country we have much to gain from the wider dissemination in this and in importing countries of the newer knowledge of nutrition. We are in a unique position to produce foods of the highest nutritional value—dairy products, meat, eggs, vegetables and potatoes. The new knowledge of nutrition places a premium on these protective foods as against the merely energy-producing foods such as cereals, white bread, etc. It is desirable that every effort should be made to investigate the most economic method of producing the protective foods in the interest of farmer and consumer alike.

As there is a newer knowledge of nutrition, so there is a newer knowledge of agriculture developed in recent years. It has a special interest for this country with its high rainfall and favourable conditions for the production of more and better grass, on the rich pasture lands by better manuring and management, and on the poorer lands by the use of the plough. It is on the more economic production of grass and on its intelligent conservation for winter use according to the most recent technique that hope lies for cheaper protective foods. In this connection, it is not without interest to state that winter milk from fodder so conserved has the same Vitamin A content as summer milk. In a recent Finnish survey of food intake of working men, it was found that there was a considerable deficit of Vitamin A in winter, but that the amount would be more than adequate if the milk they consumed were produced from properly conserved green fodder. That aspect of the question of winter production of dairy products is of nutritional interest at home and of economic interest on the export market.

HENRY KENNEDY

NO. 5.—BY JAMES M. DILLON, T.D.

MILK in Ireland is a by-product of our livestock industry. As a primary product, milk is apparently uneconomic and provides a perennial problem of marketing. We are at present spending time and public money devising plans to convert surplus milk into butter, for which no one seems prepared to pay the cost of production. We cannot stop producing milk without stopping livestock, and livestock is the foundation of our whole economic life. We have approximately 12,000,000 acres of arable land in Ireland; 5,000,000 acres will produce all the foodstuffs of every description requisite to fill to repletion every stomach in Ireland. The remaining 7,000,000 acres must produce exportable goods, and in our circumstances that means livestock and livestock products—largely cattle.

Dr. Fearon as a scientific observer points out that in Dublin there is malnutrition amongst the poor. An undernourished child is a physiologically hungry child. There are thousands of such children in our cities to-day.

The consequences of physiological hunger manifest themselves in the infirmities of adult life. Hunger as understood by the laity manifests itself by hunger-pains. Children suffering from hunger-pains cry for bread. The undernourished child, by his appearance, is crying for milk. The trained observer can hear its lament, but the untrained pass by because they are not trained to see and understand. If these milk-hungry children reacted to their milk-hunger by crying in the streets for food, as they would if they hungered for bread, who doubts but that public opinion would force the authorities to feed them first and count the cost afterwards. The hunger for milk is just as real as the hunger for bread, and often begins while the child is waiting unborn in its mother's womb (*vide* above page 22).

We have milk, the conversion of which into unwanted butter is creating a marketing problem of growing difficulty and is also costing the community a heavy annual charge. Could we not bridge the gap between the hungry and the surplus milk? The milk supply of London, Chicago and New York is hauled from distances ranging from 100 to 800 miles. The longest haul conceivable in Ireland would be 200 miles, the average about 60 miles in a planned scheme of distribution. Is it unthinkable that we should *give* this surplus milk to our own children and mothers?

One hundred and fifty years ago our greatgrandfathers would have condemned as economically impossible the proposal to supply free water in every tenement in our cities. They would have pointed out how unthinkable the cost of pipes and their maintenance would be. To-day there are water supply systems in every village much less every city. Could not the surplus milk be gathered into our centres of popu-

lation, there pasteurised and distributed free. It is true that Grade A milk is better. We are not yet equipped to produce all our milk as Grade A milk. I doubt if it is humanly possible ever to get guaranteed Grade A milk. In any case pasteurised milk is to Grade A milk what Lyster's carbolic spray was to perfect asepsis, and humanity would have suffered much if surgeons had refused to use the carbolic spray because it wasn't perfect. We can afford to do without the carbolic spray now, because modern discoveries have made asepsis practicable. Perhaps hereafter we can do without pasteurisation when new methods make Grade A milk universally practicable. In the meantime we must pasteurise.

In England the "*Drink More Milk*" campaign has absorbed the surplus and created a demand which English farmers find hard to fill. Could we not solve the milk surplus problem here by investing it in sound teeth, strong bones, straight limbs, tall and well-developed citizens? Milk bought at 5*d.* per gallon, hauled to the city in glass lined tanks, pasteurised and distributed free to the people would cost money; but it would also save lives, feed the hungry, give health to many who must otherwise be all their lives below par, save teeth, straighten limbs, make potential weaklings into strong men and women, relieve the producers of livestock of the nightmare of having to sell milk to the creamery for 3*d.* per gallon.

We cannot forget the vested interests of the milk distributors. Every advance finds a vested interest in its path. The just claims of the milk distributors must be met, their obstructive objections firmly overridden.

There is also the too enthusiastic applicant for milk, who applies for more than he can consume with a view to reselling some of it. Bernard Shaw, discussing a scheme for free bread for the people, pointed out that probably for the first week of the scheme the Liffey would be choked with loaves discarded by disappointed speculators; but that when everyone came to realize that bread was worthless as an article of commerce, everyone would understand that it wasn't worth the trouble to carry home more than you and your family can consume.

There may be a fatal flaw in all this argument; but surely it is worth investigation. Some responsible body should hear the economist, the dietician, the farmer, and last but not least the mother of many who is poor, on this plan before turning it down as visionary and impractical.

JAMES M. DILLON

NO. 6.—BY EDWARD J. COYNE, S.J.

WHEN that enterprising and vigorous little association, Muintir na Tíre, began to hold "rural weekends" some years ago, one of the first subjects it put on its agenda was Dietetics. This was chiefly due to the active influence of some distinguished physicians, who had

first-hand experience of rural conditions of life. The main ideas contained in Professor Fearon's paper were put before intensely interested audiences of farmers and farm-workers at places as far apart as Fermoy and Ballinasloe. It was quite clear from the discussions which followed and the questions which were put that the plain people of the land grasped the importance of knowing what modern science had to say on their daily food. Their instinct told them, as it tells every one, to trust more confidently to experience, tradition and custom than to academic or laboratory formulae. But, as farmers, they knew too well the importance of " balanced rations " for their livestock, and were too well-informed about maize-mixtures and meat-meal for pigs to be even mildly sceptical about the same principles applied to human beings. They lapped up percentages of proteins and carbohydrates without blinking, licked their lips and asked for more. What I remember most vividly from the discussions was the striking confirmation which commonsense and custom received from dietetic science.

Why Muintir na Tíre was interested in dietetics—and why it risked giving its audiences mental indigestion for their sake—was to try to encourage two important branches of rural life : better gardening and better domestic economy. The farmer and the rural labourers, as well as their women-folk, are, like us all, caught in a *Marktwirtschaft* which is, at least under present circumstances, a pure *Gewinnwirtschaft.* It was hoped that, by giving the rural people some clear and simple ideas on dietetics, they might be induced to pay more attention to production for their own use and less for the market and mere monetary gain.

There is always the temptation to sell the best from a garden and consume the less good at home—such is the fascination of gold or even of unclean currency notes. The sensible man, Muintir na Tíre argued, ought to grow the best for himself—and his wife ought to make him : and there, beside the dietician on the platform, was the County Agricultural Instructor to tell the sensible man how to make the most of his acre or half-acre in producing quantities of proteins and the rest in the most varied and palatable forms. And beside the County Instructor was the Technical School Demonstrator, the Domestic Economy Instructor, to tell the wife and daughters how to lose as little as possible of those vital but elusive vitamins in the cooking. Moreover, Muintir na Tíre was there to offer prizes for the half-acre producing most peas and celery and parsnips (anything to avoid a superfluity of cabbage) and to encourage the growing of apples and gooseberries and cherries—to say nothing of honey-production. There are prizes, too, for the best domestic economy in order to secure that the varied foodstuffs sent by God will be cooked and served by experts. The farmer and his men will get little for their produce—and that little only with difficulty—from town-dwellers ; they would be wise to give up thinking too much about these buyers and to think more of getting

full benefit and satisfaction out of what they can give themselves.

An interesting point—one of many—in Professor Fearon's article is the estimate of a " liberal diet " costing (say) 2*s.* a day and requiring two acres of land, exclusive of grazing land, to produce. As there are just 3,000,000 people in Éire, we have a maximum requirement of 6,000,000 acres, exclusive of grazing land, to produce this liberal diet. There are at least 12,000,000 acres of arable land in Éire, so that the produce of a great many million acres will have to find a market abroad until our population doubles itself. Indeed, it would seem that at present 4,000,000 acres of arable land would amply suffice for feeding our total population comfortably—leaving the problem : what is to be done with the other 8,000,000 acres ? If we do not wish to let it go back into a desert, it would seem that we are forced to produce on it that type of commodity for which we can find a market elsewhere. At present, as is well known, we have less than 1,000,000 acres under corn crops and only 650,000 acres under root and green crops. There are some 2,000,000 acres under hay. This gives a total of 3,650,000 acres under crops, leaving about 8,500,000 acres of pasture (which means live-stock) and about 5,000,000 non-arable land (bog, mountain, etc.) That 8,500,000 acres, or 80 per cent. of it, is constantly looking for a market for its produce : cattle, sheep, butter.

As we are on statistics, it may be of interest to note that the total income of Éire is somewhere about £165,000,000 to £170,000,000. If every man, woman, child and infant were given the " liberal diet " of Stiebling and Ward mentioned by Professor Fearon, it would mean £109,500,000 expended on food alone. This is, of course, calculated at American prices. Allowing these prices to be one-third higher than our prices, £73,000,000 would represent the cost of giving our whole population this " liberal diet." From the Census of Distribution a rough calculation gives £20,000,000 or somewhat more, perhaps as much as £25,000,000, spent in retail purchase of food. Something like £23,000,000 worth of food is consumed by the agricultural community without being retailed. This gives us a rough total of £48,000,000 spent on food by the people of Éire. Assuming that not every infant, child or old person would need, wish or be able for the full " liberal diet," the gap between our two figures is not so large.

One other point : taking 2*s.* as the American cost of this daily " liberal diet," a man would need 14*s.* a week for food alone for himself. Or if we assume American prices to be one-third higher than ours, he would need 9*s.* 4*d.* With a wife and three children, the food cost on this basis would not be less than 35*s.* to 40*s.* a week.

All these figures and calculations are rough and misleading ; but they suggest a fruitful line of development arising out of Professor Fearon's article.

E. J. Coyne

PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL SECURITY IN UNITED STATES

BY RT. REV. MSGR. JOHN O'GRADY, PH.D., LL.D.

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LARGE scale government relief in the United States has been associated with the unemployment growing out of the depression. The ordinary citizen thinks about relief in terms of unemployment relief. With the return of prosperity he wonders why so many persons who are able to work have been unable to find work. He has heard all kinds of rumours about people who pass up work opportunities because they want to continue on relief. He has heard much about the demoralizing influence of relief. On the other hand the citizen has heard that in our industrial civilization there will always be a considerable volume of unemployment, that there will always be a fairly large group of people out of work for longer or shorter periods. Government, therefore, must have some permanent program for dealing with unemployment. It cannot permit those who are out of work through no fault of their own to suffer hunger and want. It must have a permanent unemployment program.

Unemployment Compensation

In the Federal-State system of unemployment compensation, Government in this country has taken a long step toward a permanent policy in dealing with the unemployed. Title III of the Social Security Act imposes a payroll tax of three per cent. on all employers of eight or more persons. This tax has to be paid into the Federal Treasury. Ninety per cent. of this tax will be returned to each State with an unemployment compensation statute meeting certain minimum standards prescribed by the Social Security Act.[1]

The unemployment compensation laws of the various States provide compensation for a maximum period of from 12 to 20 weeks for those out of work.[2] Their objective is really to

[1] Public-No. 271-74th Congress (H.R. 7260) Sec. 903 (a).

[2] "Comparison of State Unemployment Compensation Laws." Bureau of Unemployment Compensation, Social Security Board, Wash., D.C., Oct. 1, 1937.

provide for the temporarily unemployed. They do not provide for persons out of work over a long period of time. After the laws have been in operation for some time, the question will arise as to what will become of the unemployed whose benefits have expired. Will work be provided for them under a program like the WPA (Works Progress Administration) or must they depend on direct relief? If it is the policy of the Federal Government directly or in cooperation with the States to provide continuing benefits for the unemployed in the form of work, will the work be given on the basis of unemployment rather than need? These are some of the questions that must be faced in discussing the continuing responsibility of the Federal Government for unemployment relief.

It is very clear that benefits paid over a period of twelve to twenty weeks are not a sufficient protection for workers against the hazard of unemployment. Benefits paid for such a short period do not give the worker a large measure of social security. One may wonder, moreover, whether or not his security has been provided for by requiring him to accept direct relief as soon as his regular benefits have expired. We may do everything possible to improve the standards of relief, but we still have a long way to go before we can reconcile the ordinary worker to it as a form of security. Something patterned after the present Works Progress program would be more in harmony with the ideals and standards of the American workman as part of his security against unemployment.

WORK RELIEF

If it is decided to provide work as a secondary benefit for the unemployed, there will be the further question as to how long the work benefit should be continued. Many people feel that it should be continued until the unemployed can find work in private industry. Others believe that the work should be continued for only a limited period of time. One may wonder how far an extended benefit in the form of work for a limited period of time provides the wage earner with the type of security he needs. The worker has the right to look to the State for the means of subsistence when he has been

deprived of work through no fault of his own. Conceivably the State might meet its obligations by the granting of direct relief. The able-bodied worker, however, cannot continue to live in idleness over a long period of time without becoming demoralized. The State has a duty to see to it that workers are not placed in such a position. It must, therefore, as far as possible, not only furnish the unemployed with the means of subsistence but also provide him with suitable work opportunities.

The amount of wages to be paid to persons under the Works Progress program has been a topic for heated discussion. Farmers complain that they cannot secure people for the harvest, because they prefer relief jobs. City people claim they cannot secure domestic servants, because the people upon whom they used to depend are now working for the Government. For more than a hundred years this same question has been debated by economists and by people interested in social welfare.

Many economists believe that public work provided as a form of relief should be less desirable than private work. Otherwise people would not be willing to return to private work except at rates of wages that would retard prosperity. Organized labour has protested against compelling workers to accept jobs at very low rates of pay. They claim it is not necessary to have the workers labour for starvation wages in order to promote prosperity. On the contrary they claim that high wages, with the resultant increase in purchasing power, is an essential part of any recovery program. Organized labour joins with students of social welfare in contending that relief work should provide a cushion for the wage system. Rather than require people to work for starvation wages, they should have an opportunity of working on public jobs.

In setting its wage scales, the WPA has conformed to the local prevailing rates. This has meant the paying of higher rates than those paid by many local employers. The WPA has met the objection of local communities against the paying of prevailing rates of wages to relief workers by shortening their hours, so that they really earn less than persons in regular

employment. During the harvest season, moreover, WPA has suspended work on projects on a number of occasions, so that farmers might be able to secure the necessary number of farm hands.

A work program for the unemployed must be so organized as to reach those that need it. A program providing employment on large projects in certain areas is not sufficient. It must reach every community in which there are unemployed. It must be sufficiently flexible to meet the needs of all kinds of unemployed persons in all areas.

When we begin to think about machinery for organizing a work program in every community in the United States, we find that local governments already have such machinery. Every city and every county in the United States is engaged in some form of public work. They build roads, schools, water system, etc. Any Federal program designed to provide work for the unemployed cannot disregard this local machinery. The Federal Government cannot duplicate it. The only sensible thing to do in any national program is to work through the local authorities.

In the beginning of the WPA program there was a tendency to select work projects independently of the local authorities. There was a fear of duplicating the work of local governments. After all, if the Federal Government merely took over what would normally be done by local communities, it would be making very little contribution toward the solution of the unemployment problem. Many of the original WPA projects were criticized because they were not constructive. It was claimed they were not carefully planned and did not make any contribution to the wealth of the community. How much better, it was said, if the WPA would make fuller use of existing local authorities. The local community had already planned many constructive projects for which it did not have the necessary funds. As a result of all this criticism and discussion, WPA decided to take over more and more projects that were part of the local program. Its plan was to take over projects that otherwise would have to be postponed. It had no thought of taking over the ordinary public works of

local government. How far WPA did take over work which otherwise would have been done by the local government is a question that cannot be determined without careful study. The WPA has done a large amount of local public work during the past two years. How much of this work would otherwise have had to be postponed it is difficult to say. Some of it would have had to be done locally. As local financial conditions improved, an increasing share of the normal public construction program would have been done by city and county governments.

If a Federal work program is to be continued, there must be a clearer definition of local responsibility both from the standpoint of financial participation and of planning. The Federal Government cannot continue to carry a large share of the responsibility for local public work without local financial participation. The WPA has been requiring sponsors' fees from local communities. This plan has not been uniformly successful, the amount of the sponsors' fees having varied from one to twenty-five per cent. of the cost of the projects. It will not be easy to work out a formula that will require local communities to contribute their fair share of the cost and at the same time continue a program that will provide work for the unemployed.

The matter of local participation in the planning of work projects, financed in whole or in part by the Federal Government, is one that deserves very serious consideration. The experience of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration has been that local participation is in direct ratio to financial participation. The States that contributed most had most to say about plans. The States that contributed little had little to say about plans. On the other hand it is a well known fact that one cannot successfully plan local public work projects from Washington. A Federal Bureau cannot very well decide for a local government whether it should have a new sewage system rather than new playgrounds. A Federal Bureau cannot very well decide what type of material should be used in local projects. The best it can do is to see to it that the local project is reasonably sound and that the money is expended for the purpose for which it was given.

Its share in unemployment compensation and its Works Progress program may be regarded as part of the Federal Government's large venture into the field of social security. They may be regarded as part of a plan to make life more secure for the rank and file of wage earners. Through unemployment compensation the workers receive benefits for from twelve to twenty weeks after thay have lost their jobs. After the benefits have been exhausted, the workers can secure positions under the WPA.

OLD AGE INSURANCE OR BENEFITS

The Federal Social Security program, however, is more extensive than all this. It works out for the wage earner a plan by which he can save for his old age. And lest the burden of supporting the plan prove too heavy for the wage earner, the plan provides for its sharing by the employer in equal amount. Even with equal contributions by employers, there would still be a large problem of making the old age insurance program of the Federal Government of any use to workers in the higher age brackets. The amount which they and their employers pay could not possibly bring them any worthwhile benefit. In order to make the old age insurance program as attractive as possible to the older workers, it was decided to pay certain minimum benefits to workers reaching 65 years within the next five years. In order to qualify for this benefit, workers must have paid taxes at rate of one per cent. on $2,000 in wages. The minimum benefit is $10 a month. If the worker has paid on $3,000 in wages, he will receive a benefit of $15 a month. Under this plan the aged person clearly receives more than he contributes. One may then ask : How is the balance secured ? It is like this : The younger workers pay without receiving for very many years. The fund deposited to their credit grows by leaps and bounds. Government borrows from their fund to pay the older workers a little more than they contribute. In the future Government will repay what it borrows.

An interesting feature of the Old Age Benefits section of the Security Act is that it is operated directly by the Federal

Government. Many persons had suggested the same plan for Unemployment Compensation, but it was not accepted. It was not considered possible to operate a system of Unemployment Compensation directly from Washington. Another feature of the Act which is significant is the number of people it excludes. It excludes all farm workers, all self-employed persons, and all persons engaged in non-profit-making employment. It has been estimated that the total coverage scarcely exceeds 50 per cent. of the American wage earners.

Old Age Assistance or Pensions

Since the Old Age Benefits section of the Security Act does not include a large section of the wage-earning population and since it does not go into effect immediately, it was deemed necessary to have a supplementary method of caring for the aged. Such a method was ready to hand in the old age pension or assistance movement which was becoming so popular in the States. By the end of the year 1934, when the President's Committee on Economic Security was beginning its deliberations, 28 States and 2 Territories had old age assistance legislation.[1] In most of the States, however, the program was left to the local communities, with the result that in very few States was the assistance state-wide in its operation. Leaders in the old age assistance movement believed that, with Federal grants-in-aid, the system would become state-wide and nation-wide in its application. It was therefore natural that the framers of the President's social security program should look to a Federal-State system of old age assistance as a means of implementing old age insurance. The Federal Government would pay part of the cost, provided the States were willing to do their part in financing and administering old age assitance. As finally framed by Congress, the old age assistance section of the Social Security Act provided for the payment by the Federal Government of 50 per cent. of the grants made to aged persons by the States up to a maximum of $30 a month.[2] The States had to conform to

[1] *Social Security in America.* Published for the Committee on Economic Security by the Social Security Board, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1937, p. 161.

[2] Public-No. 271-74th Congress (H.R. 7260) Sec. 3 (a).

certain minimum standards in order to receive Federal grants. The plan had to be state-wide in operation. It had to be administered by a single state agency or, when administered by local agencies, its administration had to be supervised by a single state agency. The State had to participate financially in the program. Residence of more than five years should not be required for benefit. The State should not make it impossible for citizens to receive assistance under the plan.[1]

All the States, except one (Virginia), have passed laws to meet the standards necessary for the receiving of Federal grants for old age assistance under the Security Act. According to latest complete reports available there are at present a total of 1,432,719 persons receiving grants under the State Old Age Assistance. The average grant varies from $4·30 in Mississippi to $31·53 in California.[2]

In most States, Old Age Assistance makes a powerful appeal. It has been popularized by labour and fraternal organizations. It has been dramatized by the extravagant proposals of the Townsend movement. It is surprising to find the number of people who have been carried away by the schemes for the payment of extravagant amounts to the aged. At least they have had the effect of making the people as a whole old age conscious and have inspired a degree of public generosity unparalleled in the history of such public benefits in this country. Think of the voters of Colorado last year ratifying an amendment to the constitution of the State requiring the payment of $45 a month to all needy aged persons over 65 years and earmarking 85 per cent. of certain State revenues for this purpose.[3] That the people of Colorado did not appreciate the significance of this constitutional change is very clear from the deliberations of the State legislature. For months the legislators struggled with the question of dealing with an amendment the enforcement of which would have virtually bankrupt the State. After weeks of debate

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[1] *ibid.* Sec. 2 (a) and (b).

[2] Public Assistance Monthly Statistics for the United States. Social Security Board, Wash., D.C., Aug. 1937. Table 201·3-8.

[3] State of Colorado, Constitutional Amendment Number 4 (House Bill No. 1064) Section 2 (a) and (b).

the legislature decided that the amendment was not self-enacting, and it therefore remains a dead-letter.

At its last meeting the California legislature passed a law requiring the payment of $35 a month to all persons over 65 years who qualify under a means test. In administering the test no account is to be taken of real property valued at less than $3,000, of insurance valued at less than $1,000, or of personal property valued at less than $500.[1]

Under the influence of powerful organizations there is a very great tendency to regard old age assistance as a right and to abolish or limit the application of the means test. Thus, a very large number of people who would never think of applying for general relief are receiving old age pensions.

By reason of the increasing popularity of old age assistance our social services and particularly those for children are suffering. The States want to give so much to the aged that they have little left for other services. What was regarded as a supplementary method of caring for the aged has now become the most popular social welfare measure in this country—so much so that many people are beginning to wonder what will become of our basic program for the aged. We had pictured unto ourselves a scheme in which people, by their own contributions supplemented by those of employers, would build up a fund for old age. This method was more in harmony with our traditional ideals of initiative than any governmental largess. Now we have a picture of governmental generosity far exceeding anything the people can do for themselves. The person who has paid for 15 years gets only $18 a month, whereas under the California old age assistance law he would receive $35 a month without having made any contribution.

Aid for Dependent Children

Beginning with the White House Conference on Child Care called by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1909, there has been a growing interest in the care of children in their own homes. The Conference laid down the principle that no child should be removed from his home by reason of poverty alone.

[1] State of California, Laws Relating to the Department of Social Welfare. Chaps. 375 and 405—Statutes of 1937, Ch. I. Art. 4, 2163 and 2164.

It advocated the giving of relief to mothers to care for their children at home. In 1911 Illinois passed a widows' pension law embodying the principles set forth by the White House Conference. Other States later passed similar laws. The basis was gradually broadened to include not only widows but mothers who had been deserted by their husbands over a certain period, mothers whose husbands had been confined to State hospitals or prisons. In a number of States the term " mothers' aid," " mothers' assistance " or " mothers' pension " was substituted for " widows' pension." By 1934, 45 States had some kind of mothers' aid, mothers' assistance or mothers' pension law.[1] The extent to which the laws brought any real aid to mothers with dependent children, however, varied considerably from State to State.

The principle embodied in the Social Security Bill and adopted by Congress was aid to children rather than to mothers. The same principle was followed as in old age assistance. The Federal Government was to aid the States in their programs for the care of dependent children. The program envisioned was to be more than the providing of the best type of mothers' aid. The new program emphasized the child rather than the mother. The child could be cared for not only with his mother but also by any other relative within the second degree of kindred. The Federal Government was to pay one-third of the cost up to a maximum of $18 for the first child and $12 for each additional child. The total number of children cared for under this Federal-State program in August 1937 (last month for which complete reports are available) was 453,034, as compared with 1,432,719 aged for same month.[2] There are undoubtedly as many children needing assistance as there are aged. There is, however, far more pressure for the extension and liberalizing of aid to the aged than for aid to dependent children.

WPA and Social Security Program

When we speak about the permanent policy of the Federal Government in protecting the people against the hazards that

[1] *Social Security in America*, p. 233.
[2] Public Assistance Monthly Statistics for the United States. Aug. 1937. Table 202.3-8 and Table 201.3-8.

cut off their income and threaten to reduce them to misery and want, one may ask, in the first place, why we cannot regard the present Works Progress program and the Social Security program as meeting fairly well all the immediate responsibilities of the Federal Government in this field. The present program of the Federal Government is a very definite approach to the problems of social security and public assistance. However, it does leave many gaps. If we accept this program with its implications as our starting-point, our next steps are clear. If it was good policy to take care of the unemployed during the depression by finding jobs for them, it is good doctrine to-day. Our permanent policy should include, therefore, WPA—with, of course, the modifications that experience will suggest : more local financial participation, more local participation in planning projects, and a merit system for the selection of personnel.

When we come to deal with Social Security, we must ask ourselves whether we have as yet made the fullest use of the present program and how far we have built up a body of experience on the basis of which changes can be made. Are the States sufficiently conscious of their obligations under the present Security program to justify us in adding further obligations ? Our whole experience in social welfare during the past fifty years is that we make much steadier progress when we endeavour to build higher standards for one group of the population after another.

After we have made the fullest use of the instrumentalities provided by the WPA and Social Security, our next logical step is to move toward additional categories. Some have suggested the addition of invalidity as a new category under Social Security. Others have suggested that we strike out boldly for health insurance.

The chances are that the most popular topic of discussion under Social Security during the next ten years in the United States will be changes in provisions for the care of the aged. The present provisions for the aged are bound to be changed—but in what direction it is very difficult to predict. Much will depend on what catches the imagination of the great mass groups interested in the care of the aged.

General Public Assistance

The alternative to the present Federal program for the protection of American workers against the hazards that continually threaten them is a general program of public assistance. Many people, we know, will not accept this statement. They will say that general public assistance is not an alternative to the present program, but rather supplementary thereunto. The present program, they say, is sound as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. Now we must face practical realities in dealing with this situation. If we cannot get all the money we need for the present program, how can we expect to secure funds for an expanded one.[1] We know that a very considerable number of the members of Congress are not fully convinced in regard to the present program of Social Security. The great danger in a general Federal program of grants-in-aid for general public assistance is that it may pull our whole program of Social Security down to the level of an old-time poor relief system. We will be tempted to spread limited funds too thinly over a vast field. When people say that the present Federal program leaves too much to the States, they should remember that the Federal Government is very far from being discharged of its responsibility under its present program.

The people as a whole are much more sympathetic toward high standards of aid for the groups provided for by the Security Act than they are toward general relief. On the whole they would much prefer a work program as a method of caring for the unemployed. The chances are that they will become still more sympathetic toward a work program, if it comes to be regarded as the continuing benefit to be provided under unemployment compensation.

John O'Grady

[1] Total expenditure for relief in U.S. in 1935 was $2,300,000; in 1936, $2,600,000.

WILLIAM CARLETON

A Portrait of the Artist as Propagandist

BY ROGER MCHUGH, M.A.

IF Carleton, as Charles Gavan Duffy said, "lifted a head like Slieve Donard over his contemporaries," modern surveyors of nineteenth-century Irish literature in English must suffer from defective vision; for there is little mention of him in their pages. The only biography of him, and it is not a complete biography, was brought out by D. J. O'Donoghue in 1896. So far the twentieth century has added little: sketches by Darrell Figgis and by Stephen Gwynn,[1] a brief survey by Dr. Krans,[2] and Miss Shaw's monograph on his native district.[3] The rest, but for an occasional academic reference, is silence; that public neglect of which he complained, somewhat unjustly, during his life has been accorded to him in full measure since his death.

Yet there is more to be learned about nineteenth-century life in Ireland from Carleton's pages than from those of any other writer of his time. "I rose up from an humble cottage," he said himself, "and described a whole people." The statement is true; and there is no stronger proof of its truth than the fact that the vigorous and abundant peasant life, with which his books are crammed, survives all the sectarian crotchets, didactic glosses, and moralizing sermons by which he endeavoured to interpret it for his readers. Carleton, indeed, is a perfect example of the fate which frequently overtakes the artist as propagandist. He is perpetually pointing to some scene which he has powerfully drawn and announcing that it proves one proposition, while those who regard it are aware that it fully establishes another. The facts, as our leader-writers are so fond of remarking, speak for

[1] Figgis: Introduction to *Carleton's Stories of Irish Life*. Dublin: Talbot Press. Gwynn: *Irish Literature and Drama*. London: Nelson. 1936.

[2] *Irish Life in Irish Fiction* by Horatio S. Krans. New York: Macmillan. 1903.

[3] *Carleton's Country* by Rose Shaw. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1930.

themselves ; but they have a distressing habit of contradicting those who shout them most loudly.

The facts about Carleton himself can be learned from his autobiography and from O'Donoghue's *Life*,[1] which begins at the point at which the autobiography breaks off. Carleton was born in 1794 [2] at Prillisk, Co. Tyrone. Both parents were Catholic. His father was a tenant-farmer, a man of some learning, who knew the Old and New Testaments by heart and had many Gaelic poems, legends, prophecies, and stories. His mother had the sweetest voice in all the barony, knew all the old Gaelic songs and tunes, was a fine keener, and was much in demand at wakes. Between them they had fourteen children, of whom Carleton was the youngest. He attended successively three hedge-schoolmasters, the second of which, a very unpopular and brutal man who was eventually "groaned out of the district," will be found to figure in *Traits and Stories*. Carleton appears to have got considerable classical learning from these men, though he was himself fonder of jigs, reels, and athletics.

When he was about fourteen years old, he got an itch to travel and decided to go as a "poor scholar" to Munster, then famed for the learning of its classical masters. He got as far as Granard, feeling very homesick ; there he dreamed that he was chased by a bull, interpreted the omen as the spirit moved him, and forthwith returned home to his mother, who was delighted. The next five years were spent mainly in dancing and athletics, though he attended a classical school in County Monaghan and subsequently that of a Father Keenan at Dundalk. His description of the latter's enthusiasm for classical learning is interesting. "He now ceased to act officially as a priest, and disencumbered himself of all parochial duties, even as a curate . . . He made Latin the language of the school—with those boys, at least, who were sufficiently advanced . . . He also made us write extensively in Latin, and kept us constantly translating passages from the best

[1] *The Life of William Carleton* by D. J. O'Donoghue. London : Downey. 1896.

[2] The writer of the sketch in the *Dictionary of National Biography* says that Carleton "was born in 1794, and not, as some writers have stated, in 1798."

English authors into the old Roman. In fact, when I left school, I could have spoken or written Latin as fluently as English. His advanced pupils in their conversation with each other, whether in school or out of school, generally spoke in Latin."

At nineteen, his family decided that he should become a priest, and he set off on a pilgrimage to Lough Derg. This was intended as a prelude to the achievement of his parent's wishes. It served instead the purpose of a requiem ; for his experiences there, coupled with the fact that he does not appear to have ever possessed a vocation, began that train of thought which was to bring him into the Protestant faith. W. B. Yeats says that Carleton never really deserted Catholicism.[1] Carleton himself says in his autobiography that " the doctrine of exclusive salvation " was responsible for his change of mind, and that he wished to think matters out for himself. A knowledge of his subsequent career leaves one in some doubt as to how much conviction originally had to do with the matter and how much circumstance ; change his religion he certainly did.

Two years later, Carleton was still doing nothing in particular and doing it very well. He had vanquished the local strong man by throwing a stone weighing half a hundredweight over a beam, could dance anyone to a standstill, and had jumped the Karry river at a point still known as " Carleton's Leap." He wandered about his native county, meeting many odd characters : Lanty Doain the classical stone-cutter, Buckramback the dancing-master, Mickey McRory the fiddler, Gaynor the piper who " would under no condition play for a common dance," another piper named Talbot who had made his own pipes and could make fine harps as well, and many others who eventually found their way into his pages.

It was a reading of *Gil Blas* which started him on his travels again. The world was wide, and he had youth and hope, the coins of fortune. Further, he had been unlucky in

[1] In an introduction to Representative Irish Tales. New York and London. Putnam. n.d. [1891].

love; a girl whom he worshipped at a distance had married somebody else. Perhaps he would have such adventures as Gil, perhaps come at last to a safe haven—to a Dorotea and two fine sons. He set off in the general direction of Dublin. For some months he wandered about Louth. The farmers of that county were very kind to him. He was a poor scholar "on his keep," and that was enough for them. They housed him and fed him; in return he told them stories, of which they preferred the classical ones "which showed the larnin'," and he taught their children. After an unsuccessful attempt to get a teaching position in Navan, he set out for Maynooth. On the way, he called at Clongowes. The Jesuit fathers had no vacancy for him, but he got a dinner and fifteen shillings. Next day he arrived in Maynooth. He failed to get a job there too, but met several unusual people; these included a brutal lodging-house keeper whom he thrashed; Big Magee the renowned Irish Giant, who looked after the College clocks, and Judy Byrne, masculine fruit-woman to the College, who boasted that she had been "a United Irishman" in '98 and who always called the College professors and the Duke of Leinster by their surnames. "Tip us your scratcher, Fitzgerald," she used to greet the latter. Carleton was amused, but was becoming uncomfortably conscious of the fact that even a Gil Blas needed a job. He set up as master of a hedge-school not far from Hazelhatch, but the school failed, and he left for Dublin, with exactly two shillings and ninepence in cash and no prospects.

His vicissitudes in Dublin, in the year 1818, make interesting reading. He lodged first at 48 Bridgefoot Street until his money was gone. Then he spent a night in a cellar where the down-and-outs of that time used to congregate. The scene might have come from Victor Hugo's pages. The cellar was full of men and women lying on straw beds around a blazing fire. There were "beggars, ballad-singers, strolling fiddlers, pipers, flute-players . . . I learned afterwards that there were upwards of two dozen such nightly haunts in the suburban parts of the city. Crutches, wooden legs, artificial cancers, scrofulous necks, artificial wens, sore legs, and a vast

variety of similar complaints, were hung up on the walls of the cellars." He says that Dublin was at that time full of "hedge schools," which were held in attics and garrets. Possibly he taught in some of them. For a while he lived in 4 Moore Street, where he was welcomed by a fellow-boarder named McDonagh, a tailor, who considered himself a man of genius and of letters who had been scurvily treated by fate. On Sundays he would dictate his life, letters, and memoirs to Carleton. But his enthusiasm could not disguise the stark truth that he had done nothing worth remembering. His scribe, however, was not dismayed. "I made him give me the simple facts, which I imbued with an easy spirit of fiction —adding, improving, and ultimately inventing with such success that the poor tailor, when I read over a portion of what I had written, would fly into ecstasies, snap his fingers and dance about like a madman." It was the beginning of Carleton as propagandist. "Now, did you imagine me capable of such things?" said the delighted tailor, and requested the privilege of paying for Carleton's lodging. "Many a man does not know the extent of his own genius until he tries it," answered Carleton truthfully, and accepted.

So his precarious existence went on. He was continually in debt, and often "shot the moon" when he could not pay for his lodgings. For a time he lived in Mary's Lane, later in Francis Street. His luck turned when he was engaged to tutor the son of a Mr. Fox, who ran one of Erasmus Smith's schools. Fox had been a personal friend of Henry Grattan, and was full of anecdotes about the splendour of Dublin before the Union brought it low. Through his influence and that of his friend James Digges la Touche, Carleton was engaged as clerk in the Sunday School Office at £60 a year and free board. He was allowed to continue his tutoring as well, and began to feel himself a man of substance. He now spent his spare time in Marsh's library in St. Patrick's Close or at the theatres in Crow Street and Hawkin's Street. Then Fox's niece, Miss Jane Anderson, proved attractive, and it was not long before Carleton proposed and was accepted. They married and went to live with Mr. Fox in the Coombe, near Cork Street.

At this point Carleton unluckily fell foul of an influential member of the Sunday School Committee, Mr. Thomas Parnell, who brought about his dismissal. When his first child was born, he had less than ten shillings in the world. Then he was appointed to be master of a Protestant school at Mullingar. He taught there for two years, uneventful except for the occasion when the 93rd Scottish Regiment, stationed there under Sir John Buchan, ran amok with cudgels, and were subsequently ordered from the town. He was badly paid, was actually imprisoned for debt on one occasion, and was glad to leave Mullingar. His next venture, that of teaching at Carlow, proved less profitable, and it was with very poor prospects that he returned to Dublin.

Here Carleton's autobiography ends, which is unfortunate, for it was at this period that he met the Reverend Caesar Otway and that his literary career began. The year was 1825 and Catholic Emancipation was in the air. The Established Church in Ireland felt the chill, and after the manner of vested interests rallied to The Cause with shouts of No Surrender. It was harvest-time for writers of tracts and pamphlets against Popery. Otway, one of the leading proselytisers of Dublin, was a man of parts and culture, a pleasant writer whose *Sketches in Ireland*, *Tour in Connemara*, and *Erris and Tyrawley* are still worth reading, despite their obvious bias. He had just started *The Christian Examiner*, a propagandist paper, when fortune sent him Carleton, then desperately in need and with a young family to support. Otway suggested that some stories founded on the superstitions of the Irish people would be acceptable. Carleton set to work and produced "A Pilgrimage to Saint Patrick's Purgatory," which appeared in the April and May numbers of 1828. It went well, and from this until 1831 Carleton contributed similar stories to *The Christian Examiner*. All of them are marked by two qualities, graphic pen-pictures and sectarian bias laid on with a trowel. The pen, fortunately, is mightier than the trowel. When Carleton is relying on his memory and upon his creative power, he is interesting; when he voices opinion, he is merely shrill and monotonous. It is

not difficult to visualize starvation standing at one elbow and the Reverend Caesar Otway at the other.

The growth of his reputation as a graphic writer and the opening of new markets for his stories meant the temporary disappearance of both. The break with Otway probably occurred over the story *Denis O'Shaughnessy going to Maynooth*, which was the last contributed by Carleton to *The Christian Examiner*. It started off perfectly according to schedule with a disillusioned Catholic youth duped too long by Popery; but the youth's Catholic parents, Carleton's own father and mother, were sympathetically drawn, and their son kept running off his sectarian rails and pointing the moral in the wrong direction. The story was mercilessly cut. Carleton, who seems to have tired of slogans by this time, was probably glad of the excuse to discontinue the series.

Between the years 1831 and 1840 his reputation grew rapidly. In 1830 Charles Lever started *The National Magazine* and *Dublin Literary Gazette*, in 1833 the *Dublin Review* began its short career, and by 1834 the *Dublin University Magazine* was flourishing. Carleton contributed to each of them. Two volumes of his *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* had appeared by 1833. His name began to be known in England and in America. Isaac Butt and Crofton Croker wrote praising his work. Samuel Ferguson became his friend. In 1837 a German translation of *Traits and Stories* was published at Leipzig. The same year the opening chapters of *Fardorougha*, which appeared in the *Dublin University Magazine*, indicated his power as a novelist; the complete novel, which appeared in volume form in 1839, established his reputation in this *genre*.

It was by his *Traits and Stories* that Carleton really made his name. For the first time in fiction the Irish peasant came alive on paper. Maria Edgeworth had done her best, but had never really got under his skin. Her most living character, symbolically enough, was old Thady, servant in the Big House of Castle Rackrent. Her peasants are habits, voices, and sayings—everything except men and women. A gulf of sentiment, Gothic revivalism, and slipshod writing separated Lady Morgan from the Irish people. Griffin and the Banims

had come closer; but, perhaps, because they did not come of peasant stock, they lacked convincing portraiture. Carleton, in these stories, does not admit that he sprang from the peasantry. He is always "one well acquainted with the habits of the Irish peasant," "a gintleman on a horse, wid boots and spurs on him, that's looking in at us," as one of the peasants in his pages remarks. But if Carleton could deny the past to which he was wed, the moving figures which sprang from his brain could not. They were touched up, adorned, caricatured, commented upon by their author, but their basis was truth. "I found them," said Carleton at the end of his day, "at school or college, or amid the lanes and hillsides of my native Tyrone. I found them at Mass, in 'stations' and pilgrimages, in dances and diversions, and in the company of the priests." And there they are in his pages still, hedge-schoolmasters, poor scholars, pilgrims, priests, faction-fighters, midwives, fiddlers, pipers, fighting tailors, and farmers who loved learning—a procession which Chaucer might have envied and which would have delighted Rabelais or Villon by its profusion and vitality.

That knack of story-telling which Carleton had learned from his parents and his schoolmasters and from his own necessity, stood him in good stead. His dialogue is often strained, as if he felt the need of emphasizing his points so that they would not be missed; but it usually has a turn of phrase which gives conviction. "I will commence a small sub-narration," says one of his hedge-schoolmasters, "which will afterwards emerge into the parent stream of the story." Just so would the Philomath have spoken, conscious of his learning and of the art of narration. "By the sowl of Newton, the inventor of fluxions" swears another after a bad night of it, "but my head is a complete illuciation of the centrifugal motion, so it is. Quicken yourself with the hydraulics," he says to the wife who is bringing him water, "or the best schoolmaster in Ireland is gone to the abode of Euclid and Pythagoras, that first invented the multiplication-table." One can perceive here that the picture has been touched up; but few would venture to say how much, or to swear that it is

not a likeness, or to contradict its painter who says that the model for Mat Kavanagh was his second schoolmaster.

This subject of the Hedge Schools and their masters show another aspect of Carleton which has much value for us to-day. In setting down his recollections of such institutions and people, he did much service to the social historian. He described the people's desire for learning, the construction of Hedge Schools, the method of payment, the classical and mathematical knowledge of the Philomaths. The peasantry took their drinking habits with a grain of salt, their learning with a grain of incense. The former was their own business, as long as they had " the larnin." " Do you think that I'd send them to that dry-headed dunce, Mr. Frazer," says a peasant to someone who rebukes him for sending his children to the drunkard, Mat Kavanagh, " and him wouldn't touch a drop of poteen wanst in seven years ? Mat, sir, likes it, and teaches the boys ten times better whin he's drunk nor when he's sober ; and you'll never find a good teacher, sir, but's fond of it. As for Mat, when he's half gone, I'd turn him agin the country for deepness in larning ; for its then he rhymes it out of him, that it would do one good to hear him." Carleton also described the practice of wandering scholars challenging the local Philomath, usually in rhyme, by a notice posted on the chapel door. The priest acted as judge on the day appointed for disputation, and the whole village turned out to witness the academic battle. It was a practice which must have added to the Philomaths' sense of insecurity, but which had the merit of keeping their wits sharp for the slaying of newcomers to the district.

As Carleton's description of the persons and habits of the Philomaths illustrates his descriptive, narrative, and recording powers, so his strictures upon Irish education, with which these matters were garnished, illustrate his defect of axe-grinding. He is continually thrusting himself upon the reader, not after the pleasant manner of Fielding (to whose *Tom Jones* he probably owed much), but in the style of Richard Lovell Edgeworth, who—with his own treatise on education in one hand and a copy of " Sandford and Merton " in the other—

seems to have stood over his compliant daughter as she wrote. "Alas! what noble materials for composing a national character, of which humanity might be justly proud, do the lower orders of the Irish possess, if raised and cultivated by a Christian education," says Carleton, and the infuriated reader is not likely to be consoled by the "Pardon me, gentle readers, for this momentary ebullition" which follows. Perhaps the gentle reader of those days, wise in the ways of the three-volume novel and the *Family and Scientific Journal*, expected an "ebullition" every four pages and was disappointed if it was not forthcoming. The modern reader who takes up Carleton must expect much of this axe-grinding. It is usually blatant and often amusing, as in *The Party Fight and Funeral*, where he says naively: "Indeed I have uniformly observed that, when no political or religious feeling influences the heart and principles of an Irish peasant, he is singularly sincere and faithful in his attachments"; but it often ruins a scene of high dramatic power. The same story, for instance, contains a moving passage in which Denis Kelly's son swears vengeance over his father's coffin, and a deep and awful murmur rises from the mourners; it is completely spoiled by Carleton emerging from behind the scenes with "Would to God that our peasantry had a clearer sense of moral and religious duties . . . and would to God that the clergy who superintend their education and morals had a better knowledge of human nature!" It is as if Polonius were to squeak out Horatio's words over dead Hamlet at the end of the play.

In 1845 appeared Carleton's novel *Valentine M'Clutchy*, which marks a new phase in his writing. "Within the last few years," he says in the preface, "a more enlarged knowledge of life and a more matured intercourse with society have enabled me to overcome many absurd prejudices with which I was imbued." He expresses regret that some of his earlier works have given offence. The fact was that he had written *Valentine M'Clutchy* for the *Nation*, but Davis and others thought that it would be better propaganda against the evils of rack-renting and middlemen, with which it was concerned, if it were published in separate form. The reason for this

change in Carleton has not been fully investigated; it is probable that once again necessity was the mother of invention, for his family had grown more quickly than his income, which was probably little over a hundred pounds a year at this time. But though his past and subsequent career seem to bear this out, the national feeling which was then stirring should not be entirely ruled out as an explanation. If it could influence Lever's *St. Patrick's Eve* and Lefanu's *Cock and Anchor*, it may have influenced Carleton. At any rate, *Valentine M'Clutchy* was a vigorous piece of propaganda; it exposed the viciousness of the Irish land system, indicted absenteeism and rack-renting agents, and said in the guise of fiction what Asenath Nicholson said in her travel-sketches or what Jonathan Pim set forth academically in his *Report*. "Obviously the production of a partisan," said the *Athenæum*.

This was Carleton's most prolific period. He began a series of wearisome didactic *Tales for the People*: *Art Maguire or The Broken Pledge* was written in support of Father Mathew's crusade; *Rody the Rover* showed the evils of Ribbonism and denounced the government spy system; *Parra Sastha* preached industry to the peasantry. In all of them Carleton conscientiously exhorted his readers every few pages, with the result that none of them are likely to survive. But two novels written in 1847 can still be read with delight. The first is *The Black Prophet*, which was written at a time when the Irish famine was at its height. The magnitude of the disaster and the appalling plight of the people seem to have stirred Carleton deeply. He had seen similar famines in 1817 and 1822, and wrote the novel, he says in its preface, that a story of past sufferings might arouse sympathy and help for present ones. Also because it might serve as history: "the pictures and scenes represented are those which he himself witnessed in 1817, 1822, and other subsequent years . . . Fiction is frequently transcended by the terrible realities of truth." The dedication, to Lord John Russell, Prime Minister, reads like a challenge: . . . "the writer trusts that as it is the first Tale of Irish Famine that ever was dedicated to an English Prime Minister, your Lordship's large and enlightened policy

will put it out of the power of any succeeding author ever to write another . . . I cannot help thinking that the man who, in his ministerial capacity, must be looked upon as a public exponent of those principles of government which have brought our country to her present calamitous condition, by a long course of illiberal legislation and unjustifiable neglect, ought to have his name placed before a story which details with truth the sufferings which such legislation and neglect have entailed upon our people."

The plot need not detain us: there is a scandal about an old murder which involves two farming families; there is a hidden box of evidence which appears and disappears, and mysterious strangers who follow the same procedure; there are secret marriages, disclosures, and a final triumph of innocence. And there is the central figure of the Black Prophet, a tall sinister, black-haired, crooked-nosed "prophecy man," who is finally exposed as the murderer through the somewhat unexpected appearance in the witness-box of one of his supposed victims. The prophet himself is well drawn. In Carleton's time the type which he represents had not wholly disappeared, and Carleton himself may have met one or two, with their set prophecies recited in a high and monotonous recitative and their fund of curious imagery compounded in equal parts of Revelation and imagination. "There are three books known to the wise: the Book of Marriage, the Book of Death, and the Book of Judgment," says the Black Prophet to the Sullivans. "Open a leaf, says the Angel of Man—him that has one head and ten horns—and read us a page of futurity from the Prophecy of St. Nebbychodanazor the divine. The child is a faymale child, says the angel with one head and ten horns, by name Mabel Sullivan, daughter to honest Jerry Sullivan an' his daicent wife Bridget." . . . . . Here the Prophet is almost as fantastic as the plot, but his words at the beginning of the book sound like some real and terrible annunciation of the doom that famine brought: "Look about you, and say what is it you see that doesn't foretell famine—famine—famine! Doesn't the wet dark day, an' the rain, rain, rain, foretell it? Doesn't the rottin' crops, the unhealthy air,

and the green damp foretell it? Doesn't the sky without a sun, the heavy clouds, an' the angry fire of the West foretell it? Isn't the airth a page of prophecy, and the sky a page of prophecy, where every man may read of famine, pestilence, and death? The airth is softened for the grave, an' in the black clouds of heaven you may see the death-hearses movin' slowly along . . . ."

The background of this novel, written at a time of famine, sketched in from Carleton's own observation, is tremendous. Starving multitudes, with gaunt features and hollow eyes, walk feebly and listlessly across the pages: "There was in the eyes of all a dull and languid motion, as if they turned in their sockets by an effort." The roads are black with funerals and with thousands of beggars. By the roadside are temporary sheds for fever-stricken patients; when they die, the coffin—if there is one—is placed by the roadside with a plate for offerings on the lid. Outside Soup Shops and Relief Works are "wild crowds—ragged, sickly, and wasted away to skin and bone—struggling for the dole of charity." Long lines of provision carts, loaded with wheat and oats, pass by the funerals and the starving mobs on their way to the harbour for exportation. Sometimes they are attacked, and the surviving attackers stagger off under huge loads, fall, lie on the ground gulping food, while old men and women may be seen "hirpling homeward or to shelter, a kind of dim exulting joy feebly blazing in their heavy eyes and a wild sense of unexpected good fortune working in unnatural play upon the muscles of their wrinkled and miserable faces." The children are living skeletons, wan and yellow; any surviving dogs are nothing but ribs and skin, and their hungry howlings mingle at night with the death-wails of the people.

In *The Emigrants of Ahadarra*, written in the same year, Carleton attacked absenteeism, political corruption, politically-minded priests, and the incompetent legislature. Famine was only the immediate cause of Ireland's trouble, he indicated; the real cause was the land system, which forced farmers to emigrate from a country where they were penalized for improving their holdings, or could be ejected at will by the agents of absentee landlords.

Some of Carleton's friends, who were then working to get him a government pension, were alarmed at this and other evidence of his drift to the Left. In 1848 the first chapters of his story *The Evil Eye* appeared in the *Irish Tribune*, which was a continuation of Mitchel's separatist paper *The Irish Felon*. Carleton's conservative supporters hovered between fear of his views if he were pensioned and fear of his pen if he were not.

At last he got his pension, and the *Evening Mail* immediately denounced him as a turncoat whose hostile pen had been bought off by government. He replied, in an unpublished letter, that he had nothing to do with the politics of the papers for which he wrote, and that he was "no Republican, no Jacobin, no Communist." But his preface to *The Tithe Proctor*, which came out about this time, lent colour to the belief that Carleton had not only changed his coat but was paid to trail it in front of Conciliation Hall. "There is a certain class of pseudo-patriots in this country," he says, "who are of opinion that every writer professing to depict our national character and manners should make it a point of conscience to suppress all that is calculated 'to lessen us in the eyes of the world,' as they are pleased to term it, and only give to the public the bright and favourable side. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the moral dishonesty and meanness of a principle at once so disgraceful to literature and so repugnant to truth." From an independent artist answering his critics this reply was admirable. From a propagandist who used it as a prologue to denouncing all Repealers as mean, unmanly, dishonest, skulking dupes, it was less acceptable.

Carleton lived for twenty-one years after the granting of his pension, but produced no further work of a high order. Works like *The Squanders of Castle Squander* and *The Red-Haired Man's Wife* are now likely to interest the social historian rather than the searcher after good fiction; for they record many Irish customs and events, but bear only too plainly the signs of literary hack-work. *Willy Reilly*, which was first published in 1855, is of course remembered; but this is rather by association with Boucicault's play than for any merits of its own. Indeed, during this time Carleton was spurring a

jaded Pegasus. He had contracted a habit of selling his books outright, no royalties were coming in, and he was continually oppressed by debt. His pension proved insufficient, and he failed to get it increased. He worked spasmodically, and his style, which had never been very consistent, began to show the strain. He grew very moody, quick to take offence, quick to complain of his country's neglect. He said to Charles Gavan Duffy that she had deserted him when he was in need. Whatever one may think of the justice of this complaint, it is certain that Dublin, then as now, contained many people who believed that, by patting an author on the head occasionally, they were acting as enlightened and liberal patrons of art.

To the end, Carleton remained proud of the reputation which he had won as a delineator of Ireland's peasantry. He visited London and met, among others, Thackeray and Leigh Hunt. His friends at home included "Speranza," A. M. and T. D. Sullivan, Patrick Kennedy, the Wexford man who wrote some of the best collections of Irish folk-lore ever published, and John Hogan the sculptor—who died, heartbroken and discouraged, in 1858. "Let it be noted and known," wrote Carleton, "that John Hogan, no matter under what character of malady he may have perished, died actually, and beyond all possible dispute, of neglect and a broken heart." In his closing years Carleton received many letters from the north of Ireland, where his works were far more widely read than in the South or West. In 1866 seven thousand people, many from abroad, assembled to do him honour in Dublin. That was two years before his death.

Carleton lived, during this time, at No. 1 Rathgar Avenue, but in 1868 he moved to Woodville, Sandford. His house stood near Sandford Protestant Church, which he attended regularly; and he often walked with Father Robert Carbery, S.J., in the grounds of Milltown Park. He started to write his autobiography. "I will pour into its pages all the pent-up venom which has been so long corroding my heart at the ingratitude and neglect which I have experienced from my country," he had said twelve years before, when discussing it with Fitzpatrick, Lever's biographer. But now that he came

to write it, the venom had gone, and what there is of the autobiography is simple and without bitterness, delighting in the recollection of people and places, containing little of his opinions. He died in 1869, before he had set down anything of his life after his return from Carlow, and was buried in Mount Jerome cemetery.

In this short review of his life, enough has been said about his works to indicate Carleton's place in Irish fiction written in English. "The history of a nation is not in parliaments and battlefields, but in what the people say to each other on fair-days and high days, and in how they farm, and quarrel, and go on pilgrimage," says Yeats. "This Carleton has recorded." And he adds that Carleton is the greatest novelist of Ireland—"by right of the most Celtic eyes that ever gazed from under the brow of a story-teller . . . He seems, like the animals in Milton, half emerged only from the earth and its brooding." The comparison is apt. In Carleton's works man and nature are closely identified in their swift changes of mood, their interlacing shades, their triumphant vitality. He worked with two moulds: one narrow and sectarian, one as wide as Ireland. If the first is cracked and broken, the second remains, and one readily forgives its defects for the life it contains. "He argued vehemently on whatever side he wrote," said O'Donoghue—unkindly, but not unjustly. "Il a dû vivre du produit de sa plume," wrote Léon de Wailly, who translated his sketches into French. "Cette regrettable nécessité explique ce qu'il y a de disparate dans les diverses parties de son oeuvre . . ." It explains more: it explains much of his propaganda. It will be interpreted to-day according to the reader's opinion. Until the history of nineteenth-century Ireland is written, it cannot wholly be judged. Meanwhile, Carleton's art remains for us to enjoy.

Roger McHugh

SOME IMPRESSIONS OF SWEDEN

BY VIOLET CONOLLY

SWEDEN is a good antidote to Russia, or rather to a peculiar frame of mind produced by Russia. I took it gratefully but all too briefly last summer after a winter spent in Russia. Even a breath of Swedish air goes far to dispel many of the bogeys raised by Russia. The bogey of class war and destruction, for example; for Sweden has alternative means of social action—far less drastic and in many ways more successful. Sweden does not make a god of equality. Yet above and below the salt, there is a framework of decent living which incorporates all that the Russian workers are still striving for. Taxation is extremely high; but those who pay have at least the satisfaction of supporting magnificent social services. There is no squalor in Sweden. Slums in our familiar sense of the word do not exist in the cities, though the conscientious Swede invariably reminds the critical foreigner that much still remains to be done for rural housing in the northern districts. Good housing and all that is bound up with it impressed me so strongly in Sweden that I had eyes for little else during my short visit.

Sweden, with a population of little over six millions, has no large industrial agglomerations such as blacken the midlands of England. There are many important industries, but they are widely scattered throughout the country—near the sources of raw materials: forests, iron mines, water-power .... The forests cover a very large area of Sweden. Loosely formed rafts of logs floating downstream to the factory-door are a very familiar sight on the great lakes and rivers. From the waters' edge they move along shoots to the giant saws, which snip them up like silk, and then pass rapidly from one process to another eventually to reappear as packing paper, cellulose, match-sticks, or any other of the many wood products for which Sweden is famous. These factories and the

adjacent workers' dwellings seem to grow naturally out of the country scene. They do not disfigure it. Except in a few large cities like Stockholm or Gotenburg, where the workers live in flats, small houses of the bungalow type, sometimes a couple in a row but more often detached, are the rule. Both private industry and the State facilitate the workers to build and own their own houses. There are many cheap loans for this purpose. The larger industries usually acquire sufficient land near their works to enable the workers to build eventually. It is also quite usual for the employer to provide either free or low-priced housing for the workers in the country. Sweden has long had a socialist government, which has very ably legislated for the working class. For one reason or another the whole country is very much on the *qui vive* about social questions, and thinks straight about its problems. Another salutary factor in the labour world is that employers and industrialists have assimilated the idea of co-operating with their workers beyond the factory doors—in housing, holidays, education—and accept the resulting reduction of their profits as a matter of course. This is probably not so much due to altruism as good policy—but it is a fact.

I saw some of the housing belonging to a large glass works in central Sweden. The accommodation was divided up according to the number of people in the family and the worker's wages. Sometimes a house per family, sometimes two employees and their wives lived semi-detached existences in a two-storey house with separate entrances. They seemed to take great pride in the lay-out of their rooms, in their simple but well-made furniture, and in their hand-embroidered linen —all which would be middle-class possessions according to our standards. Where the workers build their own houses with the aid of grants of one kind or another, they have to build according to definitely approved plans, and the work is inspected as it proceeds. In this way, ugly haphazard building is checked in the bud. Once finished, the house itself is regarded as good enough security, even if the worker dies or loses his job before the loan is refunded. Working-class demands have to a large extent influenced the present reorganisation of the

Swedish building trades on industrial lines. The so-called Magic Houses are one of the popular fruits of this movement. These wooden structures are delivered in sections ready for assembling. The worker and his family put the houses together and considerable expense is thereby spared on labour in this way. These little houses, painted red, are to be seen all over Sweden to-day. They have plumbing, electric light, cellars, telephone, and are really permanent homes, unlike the majority of our assembled wooden shacks.

Peaceful Sweden is the home of one of the most progressive armaments industries in the world, the Nobel Works at Bofors. Bofors and the armaments industry are synonymous terms; there is nothing else there. The Nobel Works, which is one of the largest concerns in Sweden, is typical in many respects of Swedish industry at its best. It makes all kinds of guns as well as every form of ammunition and explosives. But in spite of this vast concentration on lethal weapons, Bofors is still a charming and unspoiled village in the Värmland. The sheds where the most deadly explosives are made are approached along pretty garden paths, though this work is so dangerous that only four or five men may work together in one room, to minimise loss of life in case of accident. Pine forests stretch far away behind the large building where the cannon and guns are moulded. The workers live in two-storey villas on the fringe of the factory area. Most of them own these houses, which are built on land long ago acquired by the Nobel company. It was at Bofors that Alfred Nobel originally did his research work on explosives which resulted in the discovery of dynamite and the foundation of the family fortune. While at Bofors I stayed in the typical old seventeenth-century country house, with its long white walls and great iron lantern, where Alfred Nobel formerly lived and worked as a chemist. The son of his early collaborator and friend now lives in this house as director of the amalgamated *Nobelkrut*. It was an eerie experience to stay so near all this destruction in the making, which continued night and day without interruption. And still more strange to find such coldly rational people as the heads of this industry accept it

as a perfectly rational occupation. Typical of this attitude was a large mural painting of Saint Barbara (the patroness, I was told, of gunners and miners) which covered one of the walls in the director's dining-room. Before this painting two long white candles in silver candle-sticks constantly burned. The lady of the house was very religious, with strong Buchmanite leanings, and accepted Saint Barbara's patronage of her husband's munitions with a complacency that sent a cold shiver down my spine. Business is business, and business was humming when I was in Bofors, and I gathered it was the same in all the European armaments' works. "You can't buy a gun in Europe to-day," boasted one of the Nobel agents in discussing the Sino-Japanese war. "Every factory is working top-speed on orders, and there are many more to be completed." A considerable number of Swedish guns found their way to China before the war started, and the Japanese aeroplanes shot down at the beginning of the war by the Chinese were hit by the latest Swedish anti-aircraft gun. Sweden is very proud of this gun, which has also been purchased by Great Britain and France.

In Bofors, as elsewhere in Sweden, it was clear that the Swedish workman is an active co-operator in his own housing schemes and in many other things concerning his own welfare. He is neither the passive recipient of benevolence nor the victim of apathy. The rank and file of Swedish labour is educated up to the point of knowing what good housing and decent living are—and knows how to plan and get them. Likewise the Trade Unions are constructive and enterprising; they have built many fine co-operative flats, which are inhabited and run by the workers.

Housing, however, is not the only field where Sweden shows up remarkably well as an educated democracy applying itself ingeniously and successfully to its problems. Probably as a result of this individual interest in things which have to be done by the community, institutions in Sweden lose their usual bleak repellent character. Many middle-class people of limited means do not hesitate to use public hospitals, homes for the aged or whatever is available, though they might

impoverish themselves elsewhere in the effort to escape the grimness of institutions. Instead of packing the aged poor into immense barrack-like unions or workhouses, Sweden has devised places, like the Gammelby and Shovely Homes, where the old people live in detached houses grouped around a central building containing communal kitchens, diningroom and a small infirmary. One or at most two people live in each room, and the whole house is brightened with flowers, attractive furniture and many small touches of colour and taste. There are nurses to look after residents who need constant care. The others can still play at housekeeping and entertain their friends to a cup of coffee, to which the Swedes are as addicted as the Irish to their cup of tea.

All over Sweden there are sanatoria for tubercular patients run either by the State or by the county councils. Sweden has a high percentage of tuberculosis; but it is steadily declining as a result of these clinics and the prevention campaign among the people. In a pine forest near Stockholm the large municipal tubercular hospital covers several acres. The best specialist treatment is available here at fees carefully graduated to the patient's income. And so the nightmare of expense for people of limited means, in any section of the population, more or less disappears. Swedish specialists have been so successful in devising their own methods of treatment that it is no longer considered necessary, in the large majority of cases, to send Swedes to Switzerland. This was impressed on me when I visited a young Swedish diplomat who was having treatment there, and whom I found tête-à-tête with the occupant of the adjoining room, a boiler-maker. He assured me that both were receiving identical care, but that he would pay more for his treatment.

I had never heard of the name of Bratt or of the Bratt system before going to Sweden last year. One night, at a dinner party, I found myself seated beside a bright-eyed genial man whom everybody seemed to greet with effusion. His name was Bratt, and I was supposed to know the rest. I completely missed my cue as Bratt, for some absurd reason, was vaguely associated in my mind with the circulation of

the blood. This Dr. Bratt turned out to be the famous father of Sweden's present liquor control system. For years Dr. Bratt waged war on the liquor interests in Sweden, determined to deal a knock-out blow to the heavy consumption of spirits among all classes. He was strongly opposed to the idea of restriction through the taxation of liquor, as he believed that this was an unfair penalisation of the poor and did not get at the root of the drink problem. According to the Bratt system, which is now law in Sweden, nobody may purchase more than four litres of spirits per month. Wine is not rationed ; but if abnormally large purchases are made, the bibulous one may find himself called to order by the authorities or even restricted in his enjoyment of wine. The wine and spirit trade is entirely in the hands of government controlled semi-official companies. Everybody purchasing spirits must have a control-book, issued by the " system-company " of his area, in which his purchases are entered. These companies can only pay a limited dividend to their shareholders, the remainder of the profits going to the Treasury. Foreigners are usually allowed to buy reasonable quantities of spirits or wine on showing their passports to the " system-company." But, for foreigners and Swedes alike, there is an inflexible rule that nobody will be served with drink in a restaurant without at the same time ordering a meal—and so, in order to get the otherwise unobtainable drink, many unwanted meals are eaten at extraordinary hours in restaurants. It is surprising to find so much excellent French wine even in remote parts of a country whose national drink is the strongly alcoholic brännvin or schnapps. The explanation is that all French wine imported into Sweden is bought on the spot by a representative of the Swedish Government Monopoly. This Swede is reported to be a connoisseur of good wine, and so the people benefit both by his taste and by his power to buy in large quantities for the country. Apart from the restrictions of the Bratt system, many of which may strike us as puritanical, the Government has the right to take drastic measures to check chronic " alcoholists." If a drunkard is a danger to his family or fails to provide for it, the police may apply for internment of the offender under medical supervision and treatment.

In many ways it is soon apparent that class distinctions do not count for much in Sweden—at least as far as the framework of living is concerned. There is little that is monopolised by any group of society. What a rich man can afford to do luxuriously, the poor man also does, in nine cases out of ten, on simpler lines. The Stockholm worker owns his boat on the network of waterways surrounding the city, and sails or rows cheek by jowl with his master. He also goes holiday-making to his " country-house "—probably a tiny cottage on an allotment where he can grow fruit and vegetables, but still his own property. These allotment schemes have been very carefully planned and fostered by the Stockholm and other municipalities. And here again the building is supervised by government inspectors—with happy results that would teach many lessons to our careless City Fathers.

There are holiday colonies all over Sweden for the poorer children, and many better-off families take a " holiday-child" to the sea or country with them. These children have learned to swim in their elementary schools. They are accustomed to soap and water at home and to shower-baths in school. So fastidious parents, invited to co-operate in this scheme, can raise none of the objections that might be made against less fortunate slum children nearer home. The ease with which working-class children can be slipped into well-to-do Swedish homes is a good test of the decent food, clothes and general conditions to which they are accustomed. I don't think a dirty child exists in Sweden—at all events I didn't see any.[1]

Sweden's relations with the neighbouring northern countries are as sound as her regulation of her domestic problems.[2] These countries have much in common—socially, economically, politically. Sweden has taken a leading part in drawing them still closer by machinery for promoting

[1] So many evidences of a progressive social policy are impressive ; but they must not be mistaken. Sweden, whatever her social advantages, is also a prey to the unemployment, to the strikes and lockouts, and to the recurring trade-booms and slumps which haunt the rest of the non-Marxist world. However, it is typical of the country that, during the present industrial boom, steps are already being taken to forestall the effects of the slump which is believed to be inevitable.

[2] Cf. *The Northern Countries in World Economy*. Published by the Delegations for the Promotion of Economic Co-operation between the Northern Countries. Finland. 1937.

their mutual interests. Since 1934 co-operation in the economic field has been systematically fostered by the Delegations for the Promotion of Economic Co-operation between Northern Countries—Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Iceland—which hold regular conferences on economic problems in the various northern capitals. Nevertheless, these countries neither form nor desire to form an autarchic bloc. The position in Sweden is typical of all of them. Natural conditions have forced her to concentrate on the production of a few commodities—*e.g.* timber, iron, steel. Sweden has a large surplus of these things which must be exported in order to import all that is domestically lacking in her very one-sided economic structure. In common with all the northern countries imports *per capita* are extremely high compared with other European countries, where the standard of living is lower and the national income less evenly distributed. Those who believe in a self-contained Ireland might do well to ponder on the position regarding imports in Denmark, where the natural products of butter, bacon and eggs so closely resemble our own. Denmark has a higher *per capita* percentage of imports than any other European country ; but her standard of living is incomparably higher than prevails in rural Ireland.

Germany and German culture had formerly many warm friends in Sweden. Nazi methods, and especially the treatment of the Jews, have caused a revulsion against Germany in Sweden, and the press is openly anti-German. Even Sven Hedin has been antagonised. Moreover, the King of Sweden, by social gestures that leave no room for doubt about his attitude, has made his antipathy to the present trend of German policy in regard to the Jews quite plain. There has been no mass movement of German Jews to Sweden, though a certain number of exiled Jews have found a home there. It is commonly stated that the well-to-do Stockholm Jews do not want to jeopardise their own social status by encouraging a large influx of poverty-stricken Jews either from Germany or from Poland.

VIOLET CONOLLY

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

XLV

GOD'S WRATH

1. Bṙaon ṙe nduḃaḋ diomḋa Dé
dá gcuiṙċeaṙ dá ḋiomḋa dlaoi
maiṙg dan tóiṙ diomḋa Dé
'ṙ naċ dionsna ṙé acᵗ cóiṙ ṙan gcnaoi.

2. Clann Éaḃa ní ḋóig dá ḋíol
a gcóiṙ dá léigid go luan
guaiṙ ḋóiḃ ṙa tuṙaḋ gan tṁall
nóin ṁiaṁ gan duḃaḋ ní dual.

3. Mé i n-éigean ó anṙaḋ cuain
ṁ'aṙċṙaċ naċ éideaṙ i dtíṙ
baoġlaċ buinne gan ḟeaṙ luil
buille aṙ a ṙoiuiṙ a ċneaḋ cíġ.

4. Aṙ ṙíoḋ a bioḋḃaḋ dá mbeam
ní ṙí aṙ ciontaċ acᵗ a ċlann
móṙ an ní [naṙ ḟóiṙ] ionn
ṙí ḋaṙ gcionn do-ċóiḋ i gcṙann.

5. A ċoṁall ní buḋ eol uain
gémaḋ cóiṙ coṁall do ṙíġ
ṙíoḋ aṙ a n-antoiṙ maḋ áil
do ṙgṙíoḃ ḋáiḃ i gcaṙtaiġ cíġ.

6. Ḟiu an óiġ gaṙ hoileaḋ an ṙí
aṙ a hoineaċ naċ ḋóiġ dlaoi
maṙ buḋ ḟeaṙ do luiġeaḋ lé
do ġeaḃ ṙé aṙ a ṁuiṙeaṙ mnaoi.

7. Ól a cíġ dá n-aġṙaḋ óġ
níṙ ḋacaṙ an ṙí do ṙiaṙ
dá dtí ḟala a ḋíoġla ḋún
an ṙaḃa aṙ ġlún ṙíoġna ṙiaṁ.

8. Dual neaṙt aġ ṙíoġain aṙ ṙíġ
a ḋíoġail ó ċeaṙt do-ċuaiḋ
leigeaḋ ṙé m'oiṙeaḋ don óiġ
an ċóiṙ ḟa bḟoileaḋ ṙé ṙluaiġ.

9. A-tám dom fuláir a óg
mar ar gnát gábáil na ngiall
dligtiogh géill i ngeimhil fíog
biom féin gut eidir re n-iar.

10. Lór do cabair m'ainbiogh air
dá [ngabadh] aigniogh 'n-a fuil
finn ar do mhac faogh mar rin
do dhíg faogh a glac do guin.

11. Fuarair do nimh nuacar fíog
ar bfuargladh go dtig dá daoi
go bfeict Cárg ar t'oidhre a óg
do-foigne fóm gnárd dá gaol.

12. Dar gcabair táinig ó coil
cabair dá brátair do-beir
fuair fí a deirbhrine ar an dig
mil na feirbhdige ir fí rin.

13. Feir óige dar brine féin
do tógaib dá cineadh ciaig
fear ór geadh fuigle 'n-a hóig
cóir an fear fuirge dar riair.

14. Dá mbeit cabair damh-ra i ndán
fada ó do fnadmadh ar fíodh
gur cuir an ceart fa ceann caol
do claon leam tar a reacht fíog.

15. Guair baogal an laoi-re an Luain
tar éir ar raocair dar riair
[ní] faoil mé ir m'feicheamh don óig
bfeicheamh ar cóir n'Dé im diaidh.

16. Tonn anfaidh cuain i nbur gceann
nach gabtair a huain 'n-a ham
guair daoib ir mar tarla an tonn
long bar gcabra don taoib tall.

17. Gnát na leimib dá lot féin
ní cnearda gomadh col fíodh
meimc do gon leanb a láimh
damadh áil t'fearg do dol dib.

18. Ní tú a Dé do diultfad dún
gid hé mo diultad bud dual
ti [i mbeit mo] coidail fa clár
nár beit 'n-a ti folaim uam.

19. Is gaoltaid ní fagtar faill
le crannchar do faofad finn
cóir duid ar gcaomhna mar cloinn
do cuid croinn ón aongha inn.

20. Fiead fíog ní docair do díol
gion go brogair a hioc uan
do fiead ir gan inn dá hól
cead fa bud mór linn a luag.

21. Ní cóir mall d'agra do b'áil
nachar hagrad 'n-a ham féin
fada a-moig ar cách do cóir
ní gnách um nóin goil fa gréin.

22. Ar mbeit féid ní hogar uan
ní hé gur docar do díol
fear do loit ar-tig fed caob
mar rin nach gaol doit mo díon.

23. Mé a-noir gud nuagoin a-nonn
i gcroir do-chuadair dar gcionn
fed goin nach gabtair ar ngeall
do mheall roin fat atgoin ionn.

24. Act go bragar fear dá hól
do fiead níor dacar do díol
rinn d'ól do fleide gan lóg
nír mór an lóg cneide id cíog.

25. Fágbuid flige feampa féid
gion go ngeadad t'fine uaid
túr na conaire i gcrú an taoid
gur fgaoil tú an forraire uain.

26. Móide ar fgait-ne ór broitaid féin
gach caipde dá n-ogtair uaid
ní hí an chead a-tá gan tóir
dá ndeach do cóir go lá an luain.

27. Tonn d'fhalaidh ag béin a bhuaċ
ní gan ċéill do aduin t'fhioċ
dá n-agha do ċóir ar ċáċ
ní [tagha] i dtráth ċóir don ċioċ.

28. T'oċtgoin mar do foillrigh t'fháidh
do b'follus a toirrre thríd
téid do nimh t'oċair ran óig
gur mhoċaigh róid cneidh an ċig.

29. Fiu mo duime mo bhreaṫ fhaor
do ċeart go gcuirfeadh ar gcúl
dion d'fhoglaidh ar rioguin riamh
congbaidh rrian reo dioguil dún.

30. Ar eol dubh diommolta dún
nirrdh iondoltha don ród riog
raon na rleige ar-teaċ ran taodh
gaċ raon eile dá ndeaċ díom.

31. Téid ran ċiog caḃair a gaoil
ar ndíon i n-argaidh ní fuair
ar bhfear fine finn naċ féidh
finn féin go crídhe do-ċuaidh.

32. Iongnadh 'r gan ar dteaċt don toig
a fleadh dá bhodḃaidh do-beir
dá rirrdh do dáil a dig
fínidh rin dá láimh re a fleidh.

33. Dual rgaoileadh a glar do giall
gan ar rgaoileadh lat ní lór
[ó a-tá] geimhle ar [bhragliadh] fún
[labhraidh] dún ret eidhe a óg.

34. Sioḋ cáig le gcomhalta féin
a ċomharṫa ó láimh do láimh
ní hiad do rgéala a ċneadh ċíg
réana ar fíḋ már eadh dob ál.

35. Do ioc ciog t'oidhr a óg
an t-oineaċ gan díoċ ní dual
mór an barr daonnaċta ar ndíon
'r crann i gcíog t'aondalta uan.

36. Tig fear le Muire mar mnaoi
A fear ir a hoidir é
Ní thuan toige do toill fí
Do-ní cloinn 'r gan loige lé.

37. A fligе ir go ndiongnad déar
Dá fine ní hiomda faor
Dion ar gcean uan damad eol
Ní buan an feod fe mbean bhaon.
Bhaon.

Translation

1. God's anger is the drop before the dark storm wherein His (full) wrath is displayed; even if a man keep to justice in every trifle, woe to him when pursued by God's ar ger.
2. If Eve's race puts off till Monday the payment of their debt they are not likely to pay it then; 'tis dangerous for them not to travel while it is fine, for evening brings dark clouds.
3. I am hard-pressed by the storm on the sea, so that my bark can not make the shore, but Christ's breast-wound is a force to turn its helm; dangerous is this current without a helmsman.
4. If we, the Lord's children, are at the mercy of His foes, He is not to blame but we; a dreadful thing if He will not have saved us, for He mounted the Cross for our sake!
5. Though Justice demands that we satisfy the Lord, we can not do so of our own power; on His breast, as on a document, He has written peace-terms that we may well be content with.
6. The Virgin, nurse of the King, deserves to have her glory revealed; He chose (her as) a spouse from His own family, and was as a spouse to her.
7. If the Virgin plead with the Lord that He drank at her breast, 'twill be easy to satisfy Him; when the wrath of His vengeance visits us (we shall ask) if He has not sat on the Queen's lap!
8. Rightly has a queen power over a king; God's vengeance no longer claims its rights; let Him, therefore, in obedience to the Virgin, remit my share of the debt lying on the Six Hosts.
9. To take hostages is usual; they should be bound by a king's chains; I offer myself as one, O Virgin; let thy Son receive me as one before evening.
10. Every workman is bound to cut his hand; my unskilfulness can be used as plea against Him if Christ draws an argument from His blood (?); defend me with this argument against thy Son!
11. From Heaven thou didst get a King as spouse, and our redemption is the result; on His race, my ancestors, O Virgin, thy Son kept heaping favours till Easter came.
12. Willingly He came to save us and helped His brethren; by the bitter draught (of gall) He won His family for Himself—that was the honey in it!
13. A marriage with a Virgin of our folk lifted the cloud from her race; a worthy suitor was He who proposed to the Virgin, our sister.
14. Long ago would my pardon have been signed had this been decreed; God inclined to save me, spite of His royal law, and drove Justice into a narrow pass (?).
15. Spite of all my sister has done for me, she still fears the risk of Monday; yet, with the Virgin defending me, I expect the Judge will not pursue me for my debt to God.
16. Ye do not use in time the favourable weather, and now a stormy sea threatens you; owing to the state of the sea, unsafe is the ship to bring you to the safety of yonder shore.
17. Children are ever hurting themselves, a child often cuts his hand; if Thou really wish to put aside Thy anger, such things should not keep Thee from pardoning us.
18. Thou wilt not reject me, O God, though Thou mightst well do so; the square on the (chess-)board that would save me—let me not leave it empty.

19. Thou dost not neglect Thy kinsfolk (?) Thou must save us, Thy children ; our salvation was determined by a drawing of lots ; when the lance pierced Thee, we were the lot that fell to Thee.
20. The royal feast is cheap, though 'tis not we who pay for it ; why should we call it dear when we do not (seek to) drink it ?
21. The world's debt is long over-due, the debt which was not called in when it fell due —I do not object to this delay about it ! There is never the same heat in the sun at eventide.
22. My accounts are not clear, though 'tis not hard to settle accounts with Thee ! The man who wounded Thee now sits at Thy side ; is it not thus clear that Thy natural impulse is to save me ?
23. Thou wert crucified for me, and yet I keep wounding Thee anew ; Thy omission to distrain on me for Thy wounds has led me to wound Thee afresh !
24. Thy banquet is offered cheap to men if only they be thus got to partake of it ; our drinking of it free of charge is a cheap price to pay for Thy wounded heart !
25. Thou leavest the road—its first part covered with Thy heart-blood—free to Thy race, and hast removed the watch from (stopping) us, and yet we, Thy race, accept not this favour from Thee.
26. Every respite Thou givest us makes our destruction (?) by our sins the greater ; if Thy justice be put off till Monday no "unpursued raid" shall be ours.
27. Not without cause will Thy anger have flared up, that anger-flood bursting its banks ; if Thou urge Thy claims against the world Thy wounded breast will have been too late in making its defence.
28. When the prophet foretold Thy wounding, the Virgin's pity for Thee was plain to see ; Thy sore wound pierced her, and she felt Thy breast-wound before Thou didst.
29. My mother can secure my acquittal, and get Thy justice stayed ; to get a malefactor forgiven is a queen's privilege ; for our sake she restrains Thy desire of vengeance.
30. For a road which—even if every other road were impossible—we should hold in horror, we should not have left the royal road, the way made by the spear piercing His breast.
31. His people's salvation left its mark on His breast, our protection cost Him dear ; we entered the very heart of our kinsman so that He can never more be apart from us.
32. 'Tis wondrous how, seeing our disobedience, He offers His banquet to us, His foes ; eagerly He pours out His wine and at His banquet stretches forth His two hands to us.
33. 'Tis right to relieve a hostage of his chains, and thou, O Virgin, shalt not be satisfied till we are free ; as my foe's chain still holds me, do thou, O Virgin, speak for me with thy Son.
34. A constant character of foster-children is that each be at peace with the others ; that can not be said of Thee, O breast-wound, if Thou refusest to pardon us.
35. A great harvest of saved humanity is, O Virgin, the recompense of thy only Son's breast pierced by us ; generosity always costs dear.
36. One who was both her spouse and her son was with Mary as spouse and had a son, yet without intercourse with her ; she deserves to rule His whole household.
37. Few of His race are saved ; a way to secure our fortunes would be to follow, if we can, the path of those folk, though it would cost us tears ; frost soon disappears when rain comes.

Notes

MS. : O Con. Don's Bk. p. 97. MS. readings departed from are here noted. The poem is anonymous.

3*b*. eɪʊɪɲ *c*. bʌʒlʌċ **4***a*. ɾíʒ ; ʌɲ ɾíʊ́, lit. "dependent on peace with" *c*. nʌċ oɪɲ **7***a*. cíoʒ *b*. ʊ́ɛʌcʌɪɲ **9***c*. ŋɛɪmɛʌl **10***a*. mʌɪnḃɾɪɾ *b*. ʊʌ nʊʌbʌɪʒnɪɾ ; *cf*. infra 17 **11***c*. hoɪʒɲe **13***b*. cɪʌɪʊ́ **14***c*. meaning ? *cf*. xxxv 4 (níoṁḃ é ʌɲ nʊ́ɪon ʌɾ ʌn ʒceann ċaol) ; perhaps "whittled down" ? **15***c*. níɲ **17***a*. leɪnɪṁ **18***c*. ʊo ḃeɪṫ ʊom **19***a*. ʌʊ ʒ. **20***a*. ʊɛʌcʌɪɲ *b*. ḃɾʌʒʌɪɲ *d*. cɲéʌʊ ɾʌ **22***a*. ɾʌʒʌɾ *b*. ʊ́ɛʌcʌɾ *c*. *i.e.* Longinus **24***b*. ʊ́ɛʌcʌɾ **25***a*. ɾʌ́gḃuɪʊ *b*. ŋgʌḃʌ fɪne *d*. uʌɪm **26***a*. ɾʒoṫ, alternative form of usual ɾʒoċʌʊ́ ? *b*. ḃɾʌʒṫʌɪɲ *c*. cɲɛʌċ ʒʌn ṫóɪɲ, "unpursued foray," "successful expedition (?)" **27***d*. hʌʒɲʌ **29***a*. ḃɲɛɪċ **d**. conʒmh- **30***c*. ɾlɛɪʊ́e **31***b*. nʌɪɾʒ- **33***c*. ɾʌ ʒɛ́ṁle ʌɲ ḃɾʌʒlʌ fúɪn : lʌḃɲʌ ʊ́úɪn . . . **34***cd*. ćíoʒ : ɾíʊ́ **35***a*. hoɪʒɪɲ **36***c*. ṫuɪll : ní ɾɪʌn often "whole of" **37***a*. ɾlɛɪʒe ɾʒʌn ʊ.

THE JACKSON EPISODE IN 1794

BY FRANK MACDERMOT

TO all who are historically inclined and are able to obtain a copy, the Washington edition of the *Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone* by his son can be confidently recommended as a bed-side book. No subsequent edition is equal to it, and even the Tone manuscripts in Trinity College are far less complete. At the same time it excites almost as much curiosity as it gratifies, for it leaves many tantalizing problems unsolved.

One episode which has long puzzled and interested me is the story of William Jackson's mission here and of Tone's connexion with him. After following a recent controversy about this in a Dublin newspaper, I determined to spend a little time in trying to probe it further. First, I consulted all the published authorities I could find. Then I searched unsuccessfully among the Tone, Russell and Madden manuscripts at Trinity College for anything that would throw further light on the subject. Neither could I discover anything worth while at the Irish Public Record Office. In the English Public Record Office I had better luck. Among the Home Office papers there were, as might be expected, some letters from Westmorland, the Lord Lieutenant, in which the matter was referred to ; but there were also, among the Chatham papers, what I eagerly sought but hardly dared to hope for, namely two communications from Cokayne, who had accompanied Jackson to Ireland for the purpose of spying on him. Unfortunately, other and earlier letters of his, which would have been still more interesting, have not survived. Nevertheless, it seemed to me that there was enough to make the story clearer than it has so far been, and this article is the result.

Jackson arrives in England

In February 1794, when the Reign of Terror was at its height and France and England had been at war for a year, there landed at Hull from Paris *via* Hamburg an elderly

clergyman of the Church of England named William Jackson. He came on a mission of considerable importance—nothing less than to procure authentic information for the Committee of Public Safety concerning the prospects of finding support either in Great Britain or in Ireland for a French invasion. His special patron in the French Administration was a certain Nicholas Madgett, an Irishman, who had been employed for many years in the French Foreign Office and whose name appears *passim* in the second volume of Tone's Life. Also behind his journey were two expatriated Englishmen—John Hurford Stone and Benjamin Beresford—who conducted a business together in Paris. Stone had a brother named William resident in England and, so far as the English part of his mission was concerned, it was especially upon the services of Mr. William Stone that Jackson depended for obtaining information. As for Ireland, Jackson was himself an Irishman, the son of a Dublin legal official and of a lady from County Sligo. Beresford, too, possessed a brother-in-law prominent among the democratic and pro-French element in Ireland, Mr. A. Hamilton Rowan, recently sentenced to two years' imprisonment for the distribution of a seditious libel exclaiming " Citizen Soldiers to Arms ! " Furthermore, Jackson had in London a legal friend called Cokayne, and this Cokayne was the friend of a well-known barrister in Dublin called Leonard McNally, with whom Jackson was also acquainted and who was sure to be briefed on the popular side in every case with a political complexion. McNally had practised for some years in London and during that time had got to know Cokayne.

The Rev. William Jackson had had a curious career. Educated at Oxford, he had afterwards obtained a curacy at a London Church and had made some figure as a preacher. He did, not, however, make progress in the path of ecclesiastical preferment, perhaps because his interests were elsewhere. Apart from a taste for wine and women, he had leanings towards politics, journalism and the stage. While still young and attractive, he drifted into the orbit of a very eccentric personage, Elizabeth Chudleigh (the wife of Augustus Hervey,

Earl of Bristol, by a secret marriage), who bigamously married Evelyn Pierrepont, Duke of Kingston, and was tried and convicted for that offence by the House of Lords in 1776 after the Duke of Kingston's death. She finished her life on the Continent, where ample means, free and easy morals and a taste for publicity combined to make her a spectacular figure. Among the adventures of her later years was a journey to Russia in a private yacht, in preparation for which she sent two pictures, taken at random from the collection left her by the Duke, as a present to a Russian nobleman whose good offices she desired in order to procure her a suitable reception. Discovering too late that they were the work respectively of Raphael and Claude Lorraine, she tried to get them back and maintained that they had been sent on loan ; Count Chernicheff, unfortunately, preferred to regard them as a gift.

It was to Jackson's connection with this lady that he owed his friendship with Cokayne, for Cokayne was one of her legal advisers. Jackson became her chaplain and secretary, apparently at some time before her trial for bigamy, and this relationship towards a lady of her reputation was naturally the subject of satirical comment. Moreover, it involved him in a controversy which had unfortunate effects upon his own credit. In the then state of the law the lady had been able to escape the punishment of burning on the hand (to which she would otherwise have been liable as the result of her conviction) by pleading the privilege of her peerage. A heavy blow had however been struck at an already battered reputation, and Samuel Foote, the celebrated comic actor, let it be known that he was proposing to parody her in a forthcoming theatrical production. Her threats and influence proved sufficient to deter Foote from carrying out his intention ; but, as next best thing, he put on a recognisable caricature of Jackson under the name of Doctor Viper. Jackson, who combined with his " chaplaincy " the editorship of the *Public Ledger*, retaliated by publishing very gross articles and verses accusing Foote of unnatural vice. Not content with that, he incited and financed a discharged servant of Foote to make a specific accusation against him of this nature.

Foote was put on trial and honourably acquitted, and then began libel proceedings against Jackson and the *Public Ledger*, which failed only because of Foote's death before the case came on for hearing.

Jackson's life had also had a political side. From a high and dry constitutionalist he had developed, under the influence of the American Revolution and possibly of his own increasing debts, into a revolutionary democrat. Whether he moved to France before or after the outbreak of the French Revolution is uncertain—probably before—but he had, at any rate, been living there for a number of years before 1794. He had paid a previous visit to England in 1792 to examine the possibility of establishing a new magazine to keep the British public in touch with French fashions and literature. An old friend—John Taylor—who saw him on that occasion, was struck by his high spirits, by his contempt for well-known English personalities such as Pitt, Fox, Burke and Boswell (whose *Life of Johnson* had lately appeared and whom he described as "that little trotting man") and by the fact that on being taken home by Taylor to dine he consumed nearly four bottles of claret.

To complete the picture of Jackson's character it is necessary to add that he was a loved and loving husband and father. He had been twice married. Although he had made his first wife jealous by his gallantries towards other ladies, he had retained her affection and had nursed her devotedly through her last illness. His second wife was a woman of charm and energy, who—as we shall see—gave practical proof of her loyalty to him.

Such was the personage who disembarked at Hull, and whose admiration for French political principles had suffered no diminution from the bloodstained tyranny of Robespierre or from the tumults and massacres and persecution of Christianity which he had witnessed in Paris. His life had not been remarkable for discretion, but during his stay in England, at any rate, he was resolved to keep in the background. This course was imposed upon him, not only by the nature of his mission but by the fact that he was liable

to arrest for debt. He had a letter to Horne Tooke, but he did not present it, and his plan of operations was to stay quietly at the Buffalo Inn in Bloomsbury Square and wait for Mr. William Stone to collect opinions about the desirability of a French invasion from a number of well-known members of the Opposition, including Richard Brinsley Sheridan and Lord Lauderdale. These opinions were unanimously unfavourable, and when Stone was put on trial for High Treason two years later because of his part in these transactions, it was successfully argued on his behalf that he had helped to save England from a French invasion rather than the contrary and that, as regards Ireland, it was not fully proved that he was familiar with Jackson's designs. Cokayne was not apparently asked to assist in these English inquiries, although Jackson got into touch with him as an old and trusted friend immediately upon arrival and made him his confidant. It was not long before Cokayne scented a possibility of profit for himself and decided to pay a call on Mr. Pitt.

Jackson arrives in Ireland

The result of that call was an arrangement that Cokayne was to accompany Jackson to Ireland and keep Pitt informed of developments as they occurred. Whether Jackson invited Cokayne to make the journey or Cokayne offered himself is not known; Jackson loved companionship and would have been quick to take up a hint that Cokayne might be induced to come with him. In any event, they started off together, due notice having been given by the English to the Irish Government, and arrived in Dublin, very appropriately, on April 1st. Their visit began with a dinner party at the hospitable board of Mr. Leonard McNally.

McNally lived and died with a reputation for generous and disinterested patriotism, but actually he was a paid Government informer and appears to have taken this opportunity for graduating from only occasional to steady and habitual employment as such. Among his specialities was the communication to Government of the line of defence decided upon in political cases where he was among the counsel

appearing for the prisoners. He perhaps surpassed himself nine years later at the trial of Robert Emmet, whose confidences he had been regularly betraying, for he went the length of publicly embracing him in the dock in an affected ecstasy of admiration for the young man's eloquence and courage.

The full list of those present at the dinner party has never been disclosed, but they included the Hon. Simon Butler, Chairman of the Dublin Society of United Irishmen, and Mr. Edward Lewins, a Catholic solicitor in the office of a Mr. Keane, who was the law agent of Hamilton Rowan. Lewins was destined to be sent to France three years later as the agent of the United Irishmen, who had by then developed from a constitutional into a revolutionary body.

Jackson was introduced as a gentleman lately come from Paris and thus able to give a first-hand description of the dramatic events there which were rivetting the attention of the world; Cokayne was presented as "an English Reformer." The conversation was naturally brought round to the condition of Ireland and the sentiments of its inhabitants towards the French. From the point of view of anyone searching for victims the results of the evening were disappointing, because Simon Butler discouraged all idea of a French invasion, and Lewins seems to have committed himself no farther than to offer to introduce Jackson and Cokayne to his client Hamilton Rowan, who, although confined in Newgate prison, was permitted to receive visits from his friends. The introduction was a natural one in view of the connection by marriage between Rowan and Jackson's friend in Paris, Benjamin Beresford.

Rowan was a man of good family and fortune and great personal popularity, but hot-headed and unstable. Imprisonment was particularly distasteful to a person of his restless impetuosity, and his state of irritation against the Government made him a promising subject for the proposed experiment. The introduction was duly effected, the question of invasion raised and Rowan sufficiently interested to decide that he would like to discuss the matter with two friends of

his who visited him almost daily—William Drennan and Theobald Wolfe Tone. The former was a prominent United Irishman, but he was already in trouble with the Government as the alleged author of a seditious libel and he prudently declined to have anything to do with the affair or even to meet Jackson. Tone had been one of the founders of the United Irishmen in 1791, but he had drifted apart from them and since May 1793 had attended none of their meetings. As the paid agent of the Catholics, he had played a leading part in obtaining the Catholic Relief Act of 1793, most unwillingly accepted by the Irish Government under pressure from Pitt. He was disgusted, however, at the inadequacy of that Act and still more at the spirit in which it was administered and the language of contempt and menace by which Lord Clare averted the conciliating effects for which Pitt had hoped. Upon the passing of the Act his employment with the Catholics ceased, and he had now been fretting in idleness during nearly a year without prospects and without any dependable income, for he made little or none at the Bar. Conscious of his own very exceptional abilities, ardently patriotic and ambitious, and his imagination fired by the amazing military successes of the French, he listened with more than ordinary interest to Jackson's communications. He was invited by Rowan to compose such a memorandum about the state of Ireland as would influence the minds of the French Committee of Public Safety towards an invasion of Ireland, and he agreed to do so. It was also proposed to him that he should go to France in person and reinforce his arguments by persuasion ; but, as he had a wife and three children to think of, this seemed to him to demand more consideration. The situation was complicated by the fact that there was still a sum of money due to him from the Catholic Committee which he might probably never collect if he left the country.

Tone's hesitations about going to France resulted in a proposal by Rowan that another United Irishman should go, a certain Doctor Reynolds, who was taken into their confidence and was apparently willing to make the journey. Jackson, however, liked Tone better than Reynolds. (In this he showed

good judgment, for Reynolds turned out afterwards to be a dishonest scoundrel). Therefore the matter was kept open for some time in the hope that Tone would reach a favourable decision.

The order of events was as follows. It was on April 12th that Tone met Jackson and Cokayne for the first time, having called upon them at Hyde's Coffee House in Dame Street, where they were staying, with a note of introduction from Rowan. On April 14th he met them again in Rowan's room at Newgate and discussed invasion, but not, it is alleged, in the hearing of Cokayne, who sat in a distant part of the room. On April 15th Tone called on Rowan alone and agreed to write the required memorandum. The next morning he called on Rowan again and handed him the memorandum in the presence of Jackson and Cokayne, though once again Cokayne stayed at the other end of the room reading a book. The question of Tone going to France was raised and left open. The same day Tone left Dublin for Drogheda, where he had business connected with the assizes, first stipulating that Rowan was to burn the memorandum, after making a copy of it if he desired so to do. On the 19th Tone hastily returned to Dublin at Rowan's request, when Rowan informed him that Jackson was impatient to see him and to conclude matters. Not having made up his mind, Tone preferred not to see Jackson and went back to Drogheda until April 24th, when he returned definitely to Dublin. He then learned that Rowan had revised and altered the memorandum and had given two or three copies to Jackson in his (Rowan's) handwriting and burnt the original. There was a further conference, in which for the first time Cokayne as well as Jackson took a full part, and Tone announced his decision not to go to France, for the present at any rate. The idea of sending Reynolds in his place was not proceeded with.

Jackson felt that he had spent enough time in Dublin and desired to pursue his investigations in Cork, whither he arranged to set out on April 28th. He therefore sat down as soon as the conference of the 24th was over and with the assistance of Cokayne wrote four letters embodying the results

of his visit to Ireland. Of these one was intended for William Stone, one for Benjamin Beresford and two for Madgett. They were all addressed, and one was written, in the handwriting of Cokayne. The two intended for Madgett were addressed to firms in Amsterdam and Hamburg in order to be forwarded. That for Beresford was addressed to a firm in Basle and that for Stone to a firm in London. They were written in language which professed to deal with commercial transactions and pending lawsuits, but the pretence was sufficiently transparent and the two letters to Madgett contained copies of Tone's memorandum. The letters were all posted the same day and immediately fell into the hands of the Government, who had made the necessary arrangements with Cokayne and the Post Office for that purpose.

At this point there was considerable hesitation on the part of the authorities what to do next. When Pitt had arranged for Cokayne to accompany Jackson to Ireland, it was not so much for the purpose of convicting Jackson, who could have been dealt with in England, as for the purpose of putting to the test the allegations of the existence of dangerous plots and treasons in Ireland, especially among the Catholics, with which he was being assailed by men of weight in and around Dublin Castle, who opposed and resented and were determined to nullify the policy of conciliation and justice which Pitt had pressed upon them. Cokayne had not expected to have to undergo the public ignominy of bringing his old and intimate friend to the gallows; he had hoped to remain behind the scenes to the end. Thus on April 18th, while Tone was absent in Drogheda, we find Cokayne writing as follows to Pitt :—

As it is impossible that anything can move or transpire until the return of Tone, I may very likely be silent until that period, but I must again repeat and urge to your most serious consideration the abandonment of any thought of molesting Jackson's person, not only for the reasons submitted in my last, as, in addition to those, I think the following facts will further convince. The moment he is taken he will find means to write to Paris and the life of a friend of Government[1] (whose name I do not know but whom he has described to me

[1]Possibly Richard Ferris, referred to on page 209 of Dr. Richard Hayes' *Ireland and Irishmen in the French Revolution.*

as a native of Ireland—a priest by education—recommended to Lord Grenville by Mr. Burke) is gone, as he has him in his power. This would certainly be the case was he taken and I obliged in the most remote degree to come forward. The plan I suggested yesterday, strictly pursued, puts Government into possession of a man of ten times more consequence to Ireland than Jackson, and on him will be in all likelihood letters from Rowan to some persons in the Executive Government of France, as also some letters from Jackson.

The person alluded to is obviously Tone, who, if things turned out as Cokayne anticipated, would have been arrested on his way to France, carrying incriminating documents. Cokayne adds a pathetic postscript mentioning that he is writing at 7.30 a.m. and that " I can have no other safe time to correspond, as he (Jackson) never permits me to go to bed before two in the morning or without having at least three bottles of claret—a mode so different from my living in London, where a pint of wine is my stint, that I scarcely go through it ; besides the expense is enormous."

Arrest of Jackson

On the other hand, the Irish Government had their own position to think of and shrank from the blast of criticism to which they would be exposed, if they seemed to have deliberately imported a French agent for the purpose of provoking treason, particularly when no better results had been obtained than a conspiracy nursed within the walls of Newgate. They felt that matters had gone far enough, and, doubtless with the consent of Pitt, they arrested Jackson in bed on the morning of April 28th, the day on which he was due to set out for Cork. Among the papers seized in his room was a copy of Tone's fatal memorandum. Cokayne was excessively alarmed, not only for his reputation but for his personal safety, since he thought it likely that he might be assassinated. He concealed as long as possible the fact that he was in Government employ. He hurried off to Newgate on the day of the arrest and was allowed to see Jackson and Rowan, and Tone was also summoned to confer on the situation. Cokayne said that he had been forced to identify Jackson's handwriting, but that at his pending examination before the Privy

Council he would implicate them as little as possible, stating (what was incorrect in Irish law) that two witnesses were necessary to establish a charge of High Treason. Rowan decided that his best plan would be to escape from the country, and this he successfully accomplished, with the partial connivance of a turnkey, on May 1st. Reynolds also absconded. Tone, however, doubtless for the same domestic reasons which had prevented his accepting the mission to France, resolved to stand fast.

Tone had special grounds for believing that he might face the danger with a fair chance of immunity, for he had friends in Government circles. Wolfe, the Attorney-General, was a cousin of that Theobald Wolfe of Blackhall after whom Tone had been named. Moreover, there were two younger men—Tone's own contemporaries—belonging to influential families and themselves holding minor offices under the Government, who were prepared to exert themselves to the utmost in his favour. These were George Knox, son of Lord Northland, and Marcus Beresford, son of the notorious John Beresford, who contributed so much in the following year to the fall of Lord Fitzwilliam. With these allies, Tone managed to arrange that a lenient attitude would be taken towards him provided that he made a written statement of what he knew of the transactions ; he was not to be called upon actually to give evidence. Thereby it was reckoned that he would be rendered permanently innocuous. He was, moreover, to leave the country after Jackson's trial, but the Government held out hopes of providing him with a post in India,[1] which he was willing to accept.

Although Tone wrote the required statement for the Government on May 3rd, it was not until some time later that he was given a definite assurance of safety. Cokayne continued making frantic protests to Pitt about the course that was being taken. On April 30th he had written to him :—

> It may be here again necessary to repeat to you Sir, how much I depend on you to protect me from the disgrace of a common informer when I first communicated with you on this most serious business,

[1] See *Life of Tone*, Vol. I, pages 120 and 127.

and it may also be necessary for me to repeat your assurances on that head at our first interview, as the steps the Government of Ireland are taking with me have so far degraded me as to make me loathe my existence and, instead of here finding a generous shelter for me, they are anxious to bring me forward into a situation that my life is in the most immediate danger, my character for ever blasted, and I had better been the tacit spectator of my country's fall than ever in the least degree interfered therein.

Pitt seems to have made some representations to Dublin Castle following on Cokayne's letters, for on May 8th we find the Viceroy, Lord Westmorland, replying to Pitt that the Chancellor and Attorney-General were strong against admitting Jackson as evidence against anybody else; they felt "that it would ruin Government in the opinion of the public and it would be thought, as is now insinuated, that Jackson was sent merely to entrap the others." Westmorland adds, however, that he will try to prevent the closing of the bargain with Tone for the present. Again on May 12th Westmorland writes: "I cannot agree in thinking it wise to save Jackson to punish the others. Jackson is sure to be convicted; with him we should very likely fail in punishing either of the other two." The two persons here referred to are Tone and Drennan; as we have seen, Drennan in fact was innocent. Ultimately the British Government gave way, and Tone was even given a written guarantee of safety[1] on behalf of the Lord Lieutenant by the Under Secretary, Sackville Hamilton.

The degree of indulgence extended to Tone by the Irish Administration is certainly remarkable and has given rise to suspicion. In spite of Westmorland's statement above quoted, there is no shadow of doubt that Jackson could have given evidence sufficient to hang Tone, although it may be that Cokayne could not have done so. It does not appear, however, that any further explanation need be looked for than the consideration already mentioned. The original of Tone's confession has disappeared and is supposed to have been among the papers burnt by Lord Clare when on the point of death. A copy of it, which seems to be authentic,

[1] See *Life of Tone*, Vol. I, page 122.

is included in the *Life of Tone* published in 1826 by his son. Besides Tone himself, it implicates no one except Rowan, Jackson and Cokayne. Rowan had escaped at the time the confession was written, and no information is given about Jackson's doings that was not available from Cokayne; and, while Tone did not know on May 3rd that Cokayne was an informer, he suspected it. But the confession strengthened the Administration's hand in dealing with Cokayne, who at first refused to sign his deposition and whom the French Government hoped to buy off. As it happened, their kindness to Tone was destined to prove of further service to them in a way they could hardly have foreseen.

Trial of Jackson

The trial of Jackson was subject to two long postponements: the first because the defence were not ready with their evidence; the second because Cokayne, on reaching Holyhead from London, had been seized with what he called illness, but what was suspected to be panic, and had declined to come any farther. In consequence the trial did not actually take place till 23 April 1795.

Meanwhile there had been events in Ireland of the utmost importance. A section of the English Whigs having joined Pitt and been taken into his Government, it was decided to liberalise Irish policy and administration and to send over Lord Fitzwilliam as Lord Lieutenant for that purpose. Before arrival Fitzwilliam conferred with Grattan, Ponsonby and others of the most liberal-minded among the Irish Opposition favourable to Catholic Emancipation and to other reforms. He decided that there must be not only a change of measures but of men; this became known and threw the principal office-holders in Ireland into a state of feverish alarm and indignation. There was a delay of months before Fitzwilliam came, and in the interval every available influence was mobilised, public and private, to compass his downfall. On the other hand, the hopes of the Catholics were revived. Their General Committee could not be re-established because of the Convention Act, but they got together a Dublin Committee

and, against Grattan's advice, they committed the tactical blunder of re-appointing Tone as their agent, compromised as he was in the affair of Jackson's treason. They even pressed his claim to employment by the Fitzwilliam Administration, to which Ponsonby replied that he would be more inclined to prosecute him than employ him. The mistake which the Catholics made was regretted by their friends in England and was probably welcome to their enemies. Edmund Burke and Drennan both criticize it. The destruction, however, of the shortlived Fitzwilliam Administration was mainly due to the backstairs influence of three persons—John Beresford, who had been dismissed from his post, the Marquis of Buckingham and Lord Clare. Clare had the happy inspiration that the admission of Catholics to Parliament could be successfully represented to George III as inconsistent with his Coronation Oath ; this discovery was the source of infinite mischief to Anglo-Irish relations, of which the effects continue to this day.

Fitzwilliam fell, and the whole of Ireland outside a narrow circle of place-holders was in a ferment of rage and disappointment. It was in this atmosphere that Jackson's trial took place, so that there was considerably more sympathy for the accused than might have been expected. His wife had been active on his behalf, interviewing such persons in England as she could reach and as she thought might be influential in arranging his exchange for that gallant sailor, Sidney Smith, who was held a prisoner in Paris, and had then come to Ireland. The funds for his defence were supplied partly by the French Government and partly by Mrs. Jackson who, at a considerable loss to herself, sold a reversion to which she was entitled. Jackson had accordingly a formidable array of counsel (including, of course, McNally), at the head of whom were the famous Curran and that able lawyer George Ponsonby.

Cokayne proved a hesitant and reluctant witness, so much so that at the end of his testimony one of the jury asked him how it was, since he had come to Ireland to counteract the designs of Jackson, he was only able to give "so very poor an account of him and of the different transactions." Never-

theless, taken together with the papers seized, it was amply sufficient to convict, the jury only requiring half-an-hour's deliberation. On April 30th, Jackson was brought up for judgment. He looked very ill and had vomited on his way to the court. His condition was at first imputed to terror, but when McNally had proceeded to raise a technical point regarding the form of the indictment and when this was being argued at tedious length by the various counsel, it was noticed that Jackson's appearance was growing ghastly. Perspiration poured from him, his face grew ashen white, he collapsed in his chair and eventually became unconscious. A doctor was called, who declared that he was dying, and a few moments later life was extinct. An inquest was held the following day and his stomach was found to be corroded by about a pint of some metallic poison. It was ascertained that he had been visited by his wife before coming to court and had then taken some tea, and it was assumed that she had conveyed to him the drug with which he had cheated the gallows.

Jackson had spent part of his time in prison in writing a reply to Paine's *Age of Reason*. It is said that on one occasion he could have escaped owing to the negligence of a warder, but that he refrained from doing so because an escape would not only have brought punishment upon the warder, but would have implicated a friend of Jackson's who was visiting him. Another story about him is that, on entering the court after taking poison, he whispered to McNally "We have deceived the Senate"—a phrase from Otway's play *Venice preserved*—but I suspect McNally, who had a taste for drama, of having invented this; McNally was good at inventing. Shortly before his death Jackson made his will leaving everything that he owned to his wife, and he inscribed it thus:—"Signed and sealed in the presence of my dearest friend, whose heart and principles ought to recommend him as a worthy citizen—Leonard McNally." This will, along with letters recommending his wife and family to the care of the French nation and seeking the good offices of Stone and Madgett to that end, were placed in McNally's care and by him forwarded to the Castle.

Cokayne had been subjected to a torturing cross-examination by Curran, exactly along the " character-blasting " lines that he most feared. He had not been wrong, moreover, in fearing assassination, for a plot to kill or kidnap him failed only by an accident. He was consoled with a pension of £250 a year. At the beginning of 1796 he testified under much more favourable conditions in London at the trial of William Stone, where he was treated by counsel on both sides with as much tenderness as he was with contempt by the Irish counsel. Stone, however, was acquitted and lived to join his brother in France. As for Wolfe Tone, he went to America in the Summer of 1795 and from there some months later to Paris, where he became the romantically successful advocate of an invasion which led him to death and renown.

Some Unsolved Problems

The narrative of these events leaves us certain questions upon which to meditate, but there is no space to discuss them here. For example, is it true, as clearly suggested by Tone's son, that Tone had consulted some of the Catholic leaders before deciding to write the Memorandum ? If so, were the Government aware of it ? Again, where and when did Tone make the acquaintance of one of the Stone brothers, so that the latter was able to recognise him later in Paris ? And why do we not know more about the company at the McNally dinner and about the activities of Jackson and Cokayne during their first week or so in Dublin ? Why did their itinerary not include a visit to Belfast ? Tone stated in his confession to the Government that he made no copy of the Memorandum which he delivered to Rowan. How then explain the fact that it is printed in the *Life* in its uncorrected form, differing in several respects from the version in Rowan's hand-writing which was put in evidence at Jackson's trial ?

These and other problems crowd upon one's mind and suggest, what I believe to be the case, that the whole of this period deserves a good deal more study and research than have yet been devoted to it. Frank MacDermot

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE ORESTEIA *

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THE last three tragedies of Aeschylus—the *Agamemnon*, *Choephori*, and *Eumenides*—known collectively as the *Oresteia* and produced at Athens in 458, two years before the poet's death, are not only a supreme masterpiece of literature. They are also our earliest literary monument of the age of Pericles, whose career as Leader began in 461, when his senior colleague in a democratic revolution was mysteriously assassinated. Scholars have often lamented the paucity and insufficiency of our information about this splendid period, and especially about its earlier part. Its glories are illuminated for us rather by the fierce glare of the great war which brought it to an end and induced Thucydides to write about it than by its own direct light. We naturally cannot expect to extract much information from a group of plays like the *Oresteia* upon matters of political and military import. Yet the study of the work in its historical setting helps us somewhat to understand the problems of a little-known and violently moving period. More important, perhaps, is the effect of the knowledge so gained upon our views as to the purpose and construction of the plays themselves. I venture to think that more definite conclusions may be drawn from such a study than scholars so far have been willing to draw.

It is well known that the *Oresteia* has a twofold political interest. On the one hand it brings home to us the external relations of Athens at the beginning of the Periclean age, glorifying as it undoubtedly does the alliance with Argos against Sparta which was the first achievement in foreign policy of the victorious democrats of 462-1. On the other it touches, more mysteriously and with more evident circum-

* Paper read at a meeting of the Classical Association, Manchester University.

spection, but with very obvious feeling, upon the reform of the Areopagus which had caused the murder of Ephialtes three years before and whose effects were still clearly a matter of hot debate when the three plays were written. These two policies—the alliance with Argos and the reform of the Areopagus, which implied of necessity the establishment of an extremely democratic constitution—were the aims of Ephialtes and Pericles, and it was their carrying through which more than anything else gave the early Periclean age its peculiar character. Upon this new departure, which ushered in the most splendid period in Athenian or Greek history, we have therefore in the *Oresteia*, if we can interpret them, the opinions of the greatest spokesman of the old generation, the poet whose proudest boast, uttered in his own epitaph, was not that he had written great poetry, but that he had fought the Mede at Marathon. In order the better to interpret the opinions of Aeschylus, it will be necessary for us to follow out the antecedents of the revolution of 462-1 and to study some of its later repercussions.

The revolution was in effect a return to power in Athens of the great family whose representative in the generation before the Persian wars had completely reorganised the Solonian state and put it firmly on a democratic basis. This family, the Alcmeonidae, had come badly enough out of the Persian wars. They were suspected of intriguing with the Persians, and their leader, Megacles, was ostracised in 486. When the crisis came in 480, and Athens was occupied by the Persian army, the house was represented no longer by a leader of its own blood, but by Xanthippus, husband of Cleisthenes' niece Agariste and father of Pericles. He had shared in the political struggle between the Alcmeonidae and Miltiades, victor of Marathon, whom he had accused of high treason; and in 484 he had joined Megacles in exile. Returning in 480, he played an honourable part in the naval war, but after 479 we hear no more of him, and his son Pericles was only twenty in 472 when he supplied the chorus for the *Persae* of Aeschylus. After the defeat of Persia in 479 the effective power in Athens was for some years divided between Themistocles,

hero of the war, and his rivals, first the just Aristides and afterwards Cimon, son of the victor of Marathon.

Although Xanthippus also had been the rival of Themistocles, the latter's policy was to become the policy of Xanthippus' son. Themistocles was in internal affairs an extreme democrat, while externally he stood for an understanding with Persia and hostility to Sparta. This latter policy embroiled him in the quarrel between Pausanias and the ephorate, and ultimately ruined him; but it was to triumph long after, when he was still in exile ruling over Magnesia as Persian underling. Part of its logic was an understanding with the enemies of Sparta in Greece. Now these enemies, Argos and the Thessalian dynasts, were powers which had sided with Persia in the war and had been treated afterwards as national outcasts. We get an impression of how they must have felt from the eighth Isthmian Ode of Pindar, written for an Aeginetan, Cleander, in 478, in which the Theban poet speaks with sorrow of his city's disgrace. Unlike Argos, Thebes made no real recovery from the consequences of her treachery; she only became important after 460 because of the reaction caused by Athenian imperialism. Argos, on the other hand, though much more severely stricken than Thebes, used to the full the opportunities presented to her by various circumstances after 479, and recuperated with surprising quickness. It is of great interest to watch, through our unfortunately very slight materials, the stages by which her statesmen led her from defeat to victory. Three years before Marathon, in 493, she had been almost annihilated by the Spartan King, Cleomenes. Six thousand of her citizens were slain, and she was compelled, in order to survive, to carry through a radical change in her governmental system. Her depleted citizen-roll was filled by the admission of slaves and unfranchised subjects, and she became a democracy, with institutions closely similar to those of Athens. But she was still crippled by loss of territory, for the two cities of the Argolid next in importance to Argos herself had joined the Spartan league. These were Tiryns and Mycenae, the ancient seats of Argive civilisation in the Bronze Age; the latter had been the centre of Agamemnon's

kingdom and had first claim to the glories and tragedies of his royal house. Both took their share with Sparta in the Persian War, while Argos herself was the ineffectual ally of the Great King.

It was probably the anti-Spartan policy of Themistocles, which began to operate after 475, that gave Argos her first chance of recovery. In 473 she joined an Arcadian alliance against Sparta; and though the allies were twice defeated, at Tegea in 473 and again at Dipaea in 470, the Argives, who were absent from the second battle, seized the opportunity to attack and capture Tiryns. The terrible earthquake at Sparta in 464, and the formidable rising of Spartan subjects to which it gave occasion, provided Argos with her next opportunity. Meanwhile Themistocles had disappeared from Athens; he was ostracised in or about 470, and it has been suggested that the reason for his ostracism was the Arcadian defeat in that year at Dipaea. His first refuge, significantly enough, was Argos, from which for some time he organised his anti-Spartan front in the Peloponnese. His activities only resulted in an appeal from Sparta to Athens to have him punished for high treason. Skilful use was made of his correspondence with Pausanias, and he was accused by an Alcmeonid, Leobotes. According to an obscure tradition, some part in his accusation was played by the Areopagus, which he had been moving to have shorn of its powers. Somewhere about 468 he was forced to fly from Argos, and the rest of his career belongs largely to legend. His condemnation quite evidently slowed up the Argive revival. For some years more, Athenian policy was guided by Cimon, son of Miltiades, who during this time won some of his most brilliant victories over Persia. Cimon was the devoted advocate of the common front against Persia and of a close understanding with Sparta.

The great earthquake of 464 produced far-reaching results both in Athens and the Peloponnese. At first Cimon, after a famous debate, succeeded in persuading the Athenians to send him with 4,000 men to Sparta's aid. His authority, however, was already greatly weakened. In 463, on his return from the reconquest of Thasos, he had been formally accused of bribery

and had had to fight hard to secure acquittal. One of his accusers was Pericles, who thus makes his first appearance in history. Seven years earlier, the Alcmeonid house had helped to bring down Themistocles. Now it threw its weight, in the person of a new leader of genius, into the scale against Themistocles' rival. The real leader of the anti-Cimonian faction, however, was Ephialtes, who in all probability was the successor of Themistocles as head of the anti-Spartan party and who had helped him in an obscure earlier attack on the Areopagus. Ephialtes and Pericles joined in a strong effort to prevent help being given to Sparta, and on the failure of their effort they seem to have made a regular coalition, in which the democratic, anti-Spartan policy of Themistocles was taken over by the Alcmeonid interest, although it had formerly sided against him. Cimon's expedition to Sparta was a disastrous failure. He quarrelled with his allies and was sent home by them in ignominy. The result was the ostracism of Cimon and a sweeping revolution in Athenian policy.

It is the double effect of this revolution that forms the background to the *Oresteia*. Although Cimon fell in 462 and the full results of the new policy had made themselves felt by 461, yet they were so momentous that Athens stood under their shadow for long after 458, when the three plays appeared. In the first place the relations that had been officially maintained with Sparta since 479 were entirely reversed. A formal treaty of alliance was concluded with Argos and another with the pro-Persian Thessalians, and these steps were shortly followed by an alliance with Megara and by the seizure of Aegina. We are only concerned with Argos, in whose case the results of the Athenian alliance were immediate and striking. The Argives fell on Mycenae, captured it after a long siege by starvation, and destroyed it. An attempt by Sparta to create a diversion was defeated in a battle at Oinoe, where an Athenian contingent fought beside the Argives. The dates of these two events, the capture of Mycenae and the battle of Oinoe, have been much disputed, but recent discussion[1] seems convincingly to agree in placing them in 461

[1] W. Kolbe: "Diodors Wert fur die Geschichte der Pentekontaetie." *Hermes* 1937, p. 254 f. agreeing with E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* III, p. 588-9.

and 460 respectively. A very interesting result of Oinoe was the simultaneous dedication by Argos of a sculptured group of the Seven Against Thebes at Delphi, the work of Hypatodoros and Aristogeiton, and by Athens of a painting of the battle in the Stoa Poikile.[1] These events, in the years immediately preceding the *Oresteia*, give its references to Argos a vivid actuality and go far, I think, to explain a fundamental and original feature of its plot.

We know nothing at all of Aeschylus' standpoint in Athenian politics before this time, but it is natural to suppose that the old Marathon-fighter was an adherent of Cimon's house, and it has been remarked that in his account of Salamis in the *Persae*, produced in 472, he rather exaggerates the achievements of Aristides, while speaking of Themistocles with great respect but with a certain reserve.[2] In the *Oresteia*, whatever may be said of his attitude to the domestic aspects of the new democratic policy, there can be no doubt of his strong approval for the Argive alliance. In this respect he may be fittingly compared, as Eduard Meyer compares him, with Myronides, a veteran of the Persian wars and supporter of Cimon, who became one of the greatest exponents in practice of the new policy. Aeschylus' approval of the alliance with Argos is manifest at once in the very location chosen for his plot. The story of how Atreus slew Agamemnon and was slain in his turn by Orestes is of course older than Homer, who makes abundant use of it in the *Odyssey*. In Homer, naturally, the scene of the story is laid in Mycenae, Agamemnon's own kingdom, although the King is slain, not in his own palace as in our play but in that of Aegisthus, to which he has been lured by stratagem. It is quite clear, as M. Mazon remarks,[3] that Homer is rehandling for his purpose a story older than his own time. That purpose was chiefly to provide in Clytemnestra a counterpart to the faithful Penelope, as Orestes is a counterpart to Telemachus and Agamemnon to Odysseus him-

[1] Pausanias, 10, 10, 3, and 1, 15, 1. Recent literature in Kolbe, *l.c.* Pausanias is our only literary source for the battle.

[2] Compare *Persae* 353 f with 435 f. Schmid *Gr. Lit.* II. p. 175. Neither T. nor A. is of course mentioned by name.

[3] *Agamemnon*, Notice Générale, p. III.

self. The queen's role is restricted to that of treacherous spouse who aids the villain, though only after long temptation. The story ends with the vengeance of Orestes on Aegisthus, and there is no word either of his having slain his mother or of his subsequent flight and purification. Only in one very obscure line (*Od. III.* 310) do we get a slight hint that Clytemnestra was slain with Aegisthus.

This hint, I think, should be taken with others equally obscure which seem to point to a location of the scene in Sparta.[1] The poet of the *Odyssey* seems to have known a version of the legend in which Agamemnon was already King of Amyclae and Orestes his mother's slayer, but to have consciously suppressed it in favour of the older, Mycenaean version. That it *was* the older, in spite of Walter Headlam's view,[2] I think we need have no doubt. The reason is simply that it was the Spartan version which became entirely dominant in later times and that after the rise of Sparta there could never have been a reason for inventing the Mycenaean one—which, besides, agrees entirely with the ancient setting of the *Iliad*. Already before the final conquest of Sparta, its poets seem to have taken possession for themselves of the story and to have embellished it with an extension in which Orestes slew not merely his father's murderer but his own mother. This extension may perhaps have been modelled on the Argive story of Alcmeon ; [3] at any rate it became a prominent part of the story of Orestes as we meet it in the lyric poetry written for a Spartan audience. That the version of Stesichorus was so written, is proved sufficiently by his location of the scene at Amyclae[4] and by the presence at Clytemnestra's murder of the Spartan hero Talthybius. From a comparison of the fragments of Stesichorus with the well-known Vienna vase-painting,[5] we are led to hazard the suggestion that the killing of the queen may have been originally represented, not as commanded by Apollo but as due to the queen's own violent action in trying to defend her paramour. The whole

[1] *e.g. Od.* IV. 514, and cp. Mazon, *l.c.* p. II, V, Headlam, *Agamemnon*, Introd. p. 18 f.
[2] *l.c.* p. 20. [3] Apollodorus III, 7, with Frazer's notes.
[4] Schol. Eur. *Orestes*, 46. Mazon, *l.c.*p. IX.
[5] Robert, *Bild u. Lied*, p. 154.

incident may thus have been at first a mere pendant to the Homeric story, intended to amplify the deed of Orestes and to bring in Delphi; for, according to Stesichorus, Apollo defended Orestes against the Furies by giving him a bow and arrows.[1]

That Sparta had a very special interest in Orestes may be seen from the fact that she used the possession of his relics in the sixth century as a weapon against Tegea.[2] Spartan influence at Delphi was also very strong right down to the Persian wars, when the equivocal attitude of the Delphic priesthood brought about a great decline in the political importance of the shrine. In any case it must be emphasised that in using the legend of Agamemnon and Orestes as the plot for a series of plays, Aeschylus was using what for over a century at least, and probably for a much longer time, had been a piece of Spartan property. The circumstances of the time and his own predilections entirely forbade his retention of its Spartan colouring. He was equally inhibited from restoring it to its rightful home, Mycenae, by the fact that Mycenae had been wiped out of existence three years before by Argos, the ally of Athens, and that a victory won in the course of the campaign had been shared in by an Athenian contingent and solemnly celebrated in an Athenian public building. It was only natural that he should transfer the legend boldly to the victorious ally of Athens; and it was equally natural that he should take the further step of associating a great institution of the Athenian state with the working out of his plot. Sufficient emphasis, I think, is not usually placed upon his complete originality in these two particulars. We have not the faintest trace of any version before Aeschylus situating in Argos what had long been a Spartan story; and, as I hope to show later, there is equally little evidence that Athens had ever before been associated with it.

That this transference did not by any means pass unnoticed in Spartan circles has recently been shown, I think convincingly, by Mr. C. M. Bowra, who in a brilliant article[3]

[1] Schol. Eur. *Orestes*, 268. [2] Herod. I, 67.
[3] *Classical Quarterly*, 1936, p. 129 f.

has finally solved a problem cognate with that of the *Oresteia*—the problem of Pindar's eleventh Pythian ode. In that poem, as is well known, the story of Orestes is retold by Pindar in his own very individual style. The hero is emphatically called a Laconian, and his deed takes place once more at Amyclae, while other features are borrowed from Stesichorus. Of the two possible dates for the eleventh Pythian, 474 and 454, editors have generally preferred the former,[1] thus making the ode antedate Aeschylus' trilogy by sixteen years. This dating is very important because it seems to provide earlier authority[2] for the introduction of the sacrifice of Iphigenia as a motive for Clytemnestra's vengeance, and thus to diminish considerably the originality of Aeschylus in his conception of the queen's character. Mr. Bowra has shown beyond doubt that the ode belongs to 454, four years after the *Oresteia*, and that it was written for the purpose of emphasising the friendship between Sparta and Thebes. Pindar actually echoes Aeschylus in one or two details, and his ode has the effect of a political counterblast, showing that the repercussions of the *Oresteia*, even outside Athens, were considerable. Mr. Bowra does not draw from his own arguments the full conclusions to which they point. One of these is the originality of Aeschylus with regard to Iphigenia, upon which his whole treatment of Clytemnestra depends. A close examination of the evidence must lead to the conclusion that, outside the mention by Pindar, the story of Iphigenia's sacrifice as a motive for her mother's vengeance is told nowhere else except in Aeschylus.

It is equally clear that this story provides Aeschylus with the necessary support for the enormously increased importance given by him to the role of Clytemnestra. As I have suggested, in the Spartan version of the story, her death at Orestes' hands was a mere pendant to the Homeric story of how Aegisthus, with her aid, slew Agamemnon. Aeschylus puts Aegisthus almost entirely in the background, so that in his trilogy the treacherous king appears only as a kind of rudimentary sur-

[1] So Wilamowitz in his *Pindaros*, but not Farnell in his edition—who, however, remains puzzled by the problem of the ode. [2] Cp. A. Lesky in *Hermes*, 1931, p. 190.

vival, while Clytemnestra now for the first time becomes the chief criminal, her fearful passion roused by the desire to avenge her daughter. It is noteworthy that Pindar mentions this vengefulness only as an alternative, by way of a question, to the old Homeric and probably Stesichorean's idea of her adulterous love for Aegisthus. The reason for Aeschylus' change is quite clear. Clytemnestra must be the chief criminal because the act of Orestes in slaying her must be a deliberate act urged on him by Apollo. Otherwise its awful nature would not be so patent, and the great conflict between Apollo and the Erinyes would lack most of its tension. Indeed it is the deliberate nature of Orestes' act which provides the formal reason for the introduction of the Areopagus in the last of the three plays. If Orestes had slain his mother merely in self-defence, as from the Vienna vase-painting we may infer that Stesichorus made him do, then all he would have needed was the purification by Apollo, and killing in self-defence was not justiciable by the Areopagus at all. From Solon's time down the latter court had sat in judgment on wilful murder; there were different courts altogether for dealing with various kinds of manslaughter.

A direct chain of reasoning thus led the plot from its new beginning in Argos to its new ending in Athens, and the chief link in this chain was provided by the increased emphasis on Clytemnestra's guilt and punishment. Aeschylus, of course, was very fully aware of what he was doing, and like Homer he lets us see again and again that he has other versions of his story in mind. Aegisthus, once the chief villain, could not be altogether put aside, and so his presence is used, on the one hand to enhance the guilt of Clytemnestra, and on the other to provide the logical origin for the brooding atmosphere of ancestral guilt that hangs everywhere over the *Agamemnon*. A pretty little example of this deliberate retention of features which if emphasised would contradict his own plot, is to be seen at line 889 of the *Choephori*, where Clytemnestra, seeing herself trapped, calls for a "man-slaying axe." Commentators regularly suppose that this means the axe with which she had slain Agamemnon. Unfortunately it is

several times emphasised that she slew him, not with an axe, but with the sword of Aegisthus. The axe is clearly a rudimentary survival of the Stesichorean version [1] in which the queen tried to defend her paramour at the moment of his death and was warded off by Talthybius. In Aeschylus it provided a picturesque detail, and emphasised the man-like resolution of the queen, but nothing more. A moment after calling for the axe, she tries to placate Orestes by pleading her motherhood.

Nothing is more daring in Aeschylus' whole conception of his plot than the idea of bringing the problem of the House of Atreus to Athens for final solution. I have suggested that this problem is not really part of the ancient, and mainly Spartan, tradition, but an elaboration by Aeschylus himself, arising out of Clytemnestra's character. In the old story Orestes is simply purified by the god of Delphi for what was probably manslaughter in self-defence. There is really no good evidence whatever that there existed any tradition before Aeschylus which made Orestes be tried in Athens. The passages usually quoted to prove its existence come from the two fourth-century orators Demosthenes and Dinarchus, whose statements are repeated, with some incidental confusions, in later writers. Now the two orators simply agree in their story as to the trial of Orestes at the Areopagus with the version twice given by Euripides.[2] The most rational explanation of what Euripides says is that he is combining a local Athenian legend of the trial of Ares by the Areopagus with the legend invented by Aeschylus for his *Eumenides*. The story of the trial of Ares gave at once an *aition* for the name and function of the Areopagus, and is clearly the native story. It was of no use for the purposes of Aeschylus, who wanted to link Argos with Athens; and it had the great disadvantage of providing an alternative foundation-legend to his own new one. He rejected it entirely, but thus was compelled to sacrifice its neat explanation of the

[1] Cp. my article *C.Q.* 1936, p. 103.

[2] Eur. *Electra* 1250 f., *Orestes*, 1648 f. with Demosthenes Or. 23 (641), 66, and Dinarchus Or. 1, 101, 87. The version in Schol. Aristid. *Panath.* 108, 10, is a mere confusion. Cp. Lesky in *Hermes* 1931, p. 195, n. 5.

name "Areopagus," for which he substituted a rather lame tale of his own about the Amazons.[1] We can almost hear Athena hurrying over this tale as if she hoped no one would pay too much attention to it. Editors do not seem to realise that only in the unique circumstances of the years just preceding the production of the *Oresteia* could a legend so artificially linking Argos with the Areopagus have been invented, and only by a poet of daring genius at that. So much is this the case that Euripides felt free to reject the Aeschylean story once more in favour of the older one, or rather to combine them, giving the older story the precedence to which in logic it was quite entitled. That he wrote both his *Electra* and his *Orestes* after a very full study of Aeschylus goes without saying; and his reference to the equal votes which will save Orestes[2] seems to me to be a patent reminiscence of the *Eumenides*, which incidentally throws light on an old problem in the latter play.

The contemporary position of Delphi gave Aeschylus an additional reason for deposing Apollo as he does from his pre-eminence in the Spartan legend, a pre-eminence to which he is naturally restored by Pindar. Although an attempt—the consequences of which we can see in Herodotus—was made to suggest that the Delphic oracle had played a glorious part in the Persian wars, there is no doubt that Delphi, like so many in Greece, had expected the Persians to win and had discouraged resistance to what seemed their inevitable victory. After the war the oracle paid for its weakness by the loss, for at least a period, of its influence. We know little or nothing, unfortunately, about its exact position at the time when the *Oresteia* was produced; but within a year it fell into the control of the Phocians, who were allies of Athens, and they kept their grip upon it for the next decade. It is not unlikely that the treatment of Apollo in the *Eumenides* reflects the sentiments of Athenians at the time. The god is not, as Wilamowitz thought, condemned or denounced, but he is made definitely, at least by implication, inferior to the imperial goddess of Athens. The speech of the Delphic priestess with

[1] *Eum.* 685 f. [2] Eur. *Electra*, 1266.

which the *Eumenides* opens is, as Verrall noted, one of the most remarkable documents concerning the history of Greek religion which have come down to us; but I would suggest that its remarkable character lies less in its relation to popular belief than in its subtle, but none the less striking, political implications. Verrall is entirely correct in saying that "the whole is fictitious, inconsistent with the cult, the practices, and the genuine legends of Delphi"; but here again its peculiarity does not lie in the subordination of Apollo to Zeus, for, as we may learn from Pindar's third Pythian ode, this had become almost a kind of Delphic orthodoxy since the Persian War.

Apart from the omission of the best-known Delphic legends, such as that of Apollo's conquest of the serpent, what above all distinguishes Aeschylus' account of the oracle is first the fact that he makes Apollo come from Delos to Parnassus, and second his statement that the god was escorted by "the road-making sons of Hephaestus, who make the wild land tame"—in other words the Athenians, masters of the Delian League, with their claim to a civilising mission, such as was made long afterwards by Pericles in his Funeral Speech. Here we seem to have nothing less than an Athenian aspiration to a sort of overlordship at Delphi, an aspiration we see reflected in an inscription recording a renewal of the Athenian alliance with Phocis, probably in the year 449-8.[1] In the light of this, the subordination of Apollo to Athena need not at all surprise us.

As far as the external results of the revolution which brought Pericles to power are concerned, we thus see that Aeschylus whole-heartedly approved of them. In doing so he faithfully reflected the views of the majority of Athenians; although, for at least a year after his trilogy appeared, there was a minority which was suspected of intriguing with Sparta. It was the battles of Tanagra and Oenophyta in 457 that finally cemented the whole people in one purpose. We get a vivid impression of the circumstances under which the plays

[1] Hill, *Sources for Greek History*, No. 124. Cp. Soph., *O.R.* 154, Ἰήϊε Δάλιε Παιάν, w. Jebb's note. Pindar *P.* 1. 39, Δάλου ἀνάσσων Φοῖβε is expressing the superiority of Delphi.

were produced from the famous inscription of the Erechtheid tribe, now in the Louvre, which recorded, in the autumn of 459, the names of those from that tribe who fell fighting, in the same year, in Cyprus, Egypt, Phoenicia, at Halieis, in Aegina and in Megara. The Egyptian expedition, in support of the rebellious Libyan King Inaros, who had made himself master of Egypt and shaken off Persian rule a little before the change in Athenian policy, was a disastrous concession made by the democratic coalition to the supporters of Cimon and his anti-Persian front. It was a break with the policy of Themistocles, probably made necessary in the interests of unity at home; but, as is well-known, it was ultimately calamitous, and its failure not merely changed for good the ideas of Pericles as to what Athens could accomplish, but very nearly ruined the Delian League and re-established Persia in the Aegean. There is an undoubted reference to this expedition in the opening invocation of Athena by Orestes in the *Eumenides* (l. 292 f.) when he calls upon her to come, whether she be in the Libyan land about the waters of her native Tritonian lake, helping her friends, or whether she be superintending the Phlegraean plain like a bold Thessalian general. Here the two extreme limits of Athenian activity, Chalcidice in the north and Egypt in the south, are mentioned together, and the title chosen to describe Athena's generalship—*ταγοῦχος*—skilfully hints at the new Thessalian alliance. In all probability Aeschylus was one of those who were attracted to the new policy by the prospect of limitless imperial glory that it offered to Athens. The implication of his words, that Athena was everywhere the supreme power, would be very unlikely to escape the notice of his audience.

It is when we come to the internal aspects of the democratic policy that we find it more difficult to make up our minds as to what Aeschylus meant. The old idea, maintained a century ago by Böckh and K. O. Müller, that he definitely intended to range himself against those who would take away the powers and privileges of the Areopagus, has few integral adherents nowadays, though echoes of it may be found in the latest

English manuals of Greek literature. Professor Rose, for instance, whose work appeared as recently as 1934, says in a note[1]: "There is probably a political allusion here: Aeschylus praises this ancient Senate, whose powers were being attacked by the democratic party." Professor Sinclair, also in 1934, says, again in a note[2]: "It is worth noting that shortly before the production of the play the powers and privileges of the court of the Areopagus had been severely reduced by the democratic party. The *Eumenides* is a protest against this." Professor Norwood, in his valuable work on Greek Tragedy, published in 1920, is more cautious: "It is true at the same time that the poet wished, for reasons of contemporary politics, to impress upon his countrymen the sacredness of this ancient court, then threatened with curtailment of its powers and prestige at the hands of the popular party." [3] German scholars, since the work of E. Meyer and Wilamowitz at the end of last century, have taken a more subtle view. This view has been perhaps best expressed in English by Bury in his *History of Greece*, following in this as in so much else in the footsteps of Eduard Meyer: "The significance of the drama has been often misunderstood. It is no protest after the event; it is no cry to undo what has been done. On the contrary, Aeschylus, so far as his poetical motive permits him to suggest a criticism of recent events, approves of the reform."[4]

In view of Aeschylus' evident enthusiasm for the foreign policy of the democrats, the onus of proof surely rests on those who think that in the *Eumenides* he attacks their internal policy. No doubt his language is very careful and his allusions so distant that they escape our ears, though they must have been vivid to those who first heard them. But our general impression must coincide with that of Bury. Indeed there are good grounds for the suggestion made in 1925 by Dr. Livingstone[5] that the bitterness of the Furies in the trial

[1] Rose, *Handbook of Greek Literature*, p. 156.
[2] Sinclair, *History of Classical Greek Literature*, p. 240.
[3] Norwood, *Greek Tragedy*, p. 116.
[4] Bury. *History of Greece*, p. 348.
[5] *The Problem of the Eumenides. Journal of Hellenic Studies.* 1925, p. 120.

scene is intended to allegorise the feelings of those who resented the reform of the Areopagus. How bitter these feelings were we may realise from the fact that Ephialtes, leader of the democratic party, had been murdered by the agent of an oligarchic secret society three years before the plays were produced—just about the time when the reforms were carried through.

It is scarcely necessary to explain at great length what these reforms were. The Areopagus, an ancient Council consisting, like the Roman Senate, of men of rank who had held high office in the State, had originally possessed undefined powers of control over the conduct of magistrates and apparently, like the Supreme Court in the United States, could even pronounce on the validity of laws passed by the popular assembly. Though its powers had been restricted by the democratic constitution of Cleisthenes in 508, we are assured by Aristotle that, as a result of its conduct in the Persian war, it had effectively though not formally recovered most of them and perhaps even extended them by the addition of some sort of financial control. Meyer has I think found the true interpretation of the difficulties involved in the twenty-fifth chapter of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*. There we are told, in total neglect of chronology, that Themistocles aided Ephialtes in 462-1 in reducing the powers of the Areopagus, although it is entirely certain that Themistocles by that time had been in exile for nearly ten years. The explanation is that Aristotle has telescoped his narrative, and that in fact Themistocles and Ephialtes had been associated in a movement against the Areopagus before the ostracism of the former. It may even be possible, as Aristotle seems to hint, that the Areopagus was concerned in the accusations which turned the ostracism of Themistocles into perpetual banishment. This would explain the bitterness aroused in a conflict where policy, as so often happens, was criss-crossed by personal feeling. At any rate Pericles took over the policy of curtailing the powers of the Areopagus along with the policy of opposition to Sparta. The result of Cimon's fall was that the Areopagus was formally deprived of all its political

functions and left only the work of a court for trying cases of wilful murder. The solemnity of the law as well as the lasting nature of the dispute is shown by the fact that nearly sixty years later, when the democracy fell, one of the acts of the oligarchic junta which replaced it was to remove the record of the law of Ephialtes from the building in which the Areopagus held its sessions. At a still later date the Areopagus became a sort of Palladium for all conservatives, and its long history as supreme government of Athens under Macedonian and Roman rule is well known.

Although the language of Aeschylus sometimes lends itself to the interpretation that he was a partisan of the old Areopagus, yet it is quite clear that it is its institution as a court for the trial of wilful murder to which he attributes divine sanction. By so doing and by linking its institution with the Argive alliance, which similarly receives divine sanction, he probably did much to soothe the feelings of the aristocratic partisans of Cimon, among whom the vigorous resumption of the Persian war made the foreign policy of Pericles popular. It is even possible that, in the famous passage which is put into Athena's mouth as she solemnly inaugurates the Court, he justifies the democrats by making the goddess allow the citizens themselves the right to alter the laws,[1] and again when she says that " if pure water be defiled by evil affluents and mud, you will never find it fit to drink." Verrall is almost certainly right in his suggestion that the " evil affluents " here are the excessive powers recently exercised by the Areopagus. At the same time, in calling the new Court " a council untouched by gain," the poet clearly intends to emphasise its superiority to the popular jury-courts, whose members received a daily fee for their labours. He was not, to begin with, an adherent of the democratic cause, and his praise, uttered through the mouths both of the Furies and of Athena, for a form of government which is neither anarchy nor tyranny, reminds us forcibly of a common conservative formula which we frequently meet in Pindar.[2] But he accepts the reforms

[1] l. 693. Stephanus' *πικαινούντων*, for the impossible MSS. *πικαινόντων*, is surely right. *πικραινόντων*, accepted by Wilamowitz, merely darkens counsel.

[2] Bowra, l. c. p. 137-8. Cp. Thucydides' preference for *τὸ μέσον*.

loyally because they are bound up with the glory of Athens, a fact which his whole plot, as I have said, is intended to emphasise. His appeal for concord, reinforced by Athena's transparent plea that the Erinyes shall not go into exile nor precipitate civil war—"let there be foreign war, of which enough is available"—are as much a sermon to Cimon's adherents to adopt his own moderate view as a necessary part of his drama; and as Dr. Livingstone has shown, the disproportionate space allotted to the final argument between Athena and the Erinyes is justified more by the exigencies of the political situation than by the story of Orestes.

Modern critics, looking for what they call an "ethical" solution of the deep moral problems so powerfully presented in the *Oresteia*, express disappointment at being given one which in the language of the nineteenth century is described as being merely political. The latest of such critics is the eminent German historian of Greek literature, Dr. Wilhelm Schmid. "The first two tragedies," he says,[1] "were written for all Greeks, indeed for all the world; the third is cut to the standards of Athens and its public. Herein Aeschylus has fallen under the sway of merely local interest, which, if compared with the great general human horizon of the first two plays, betokens a fault of style and a decadence." Perhaps it is beginning to be easier, with our experience of totalitarian States, to understand how an ancient poet could confound ethics and religion with politics, as Aeschylus undoubtedly does. For him, as for all his contemporaries, these were not separate categories, and neither was one of them given pride of place over the others. It is only the limitation of a modern mentality, the product for the most part of a utilitarian philosophy, that can see decline in a poem which unites in such a subtle and splendid harmony past and present, the legendary and the actual, religion and patriotism, and makes them all resound to the glory of Athens at the dawn of her golden age.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

[1] *Griechische Litteraturgeschichte*, II, p. 253.

CATHOLIC MEDICAL MISSIONS

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IT is easy to see many reasons why the divine compassion of Christ went out to all the sick and bodily afflicted whom He met in His mortal life. No one who reads the Gospel attentively can doubt that this was His favoured charity, the chosen field of most of His miracles. That we of this present age are called, in imitation of Our Saviour and for similar reasons, to continue the ministry of caring for the sick and unfortunate as a part of our ordinary mission activities, comes as a surprise to too many of our Catholic people. There is need of much education in the duty, the necessity, and the efficacy of Medical Missions. For our own and the following generation this duty is most urgent. Despite the great advances made in some countries and among some classes in the cure of the sick, some of the mission lands are in a worse plight medically than was Palestine in our Lord's day.

Not more than one-third of the human race profit by the advances of modern medicine, surgery and nursing. Vast multitudes, both rich and poor, are destitute of medical care; even in our own nations, great classes of people—the country-dwellers and the middle classes, too poor to pay for themselves, not poor enough to get government help—are without adequate medical care. In many places, in the interior of China for instance, the situation is simply indescribable. Ignorant of hygiene, desperately poor, afflicted with all the diseases familiar to us and with a number of others which have been eliminated from our favoured lands by quarantine and other health regulations, the people are often without any medical or nursing care worth the name. They throng to the mission dispensaries, however poorly provided those may be; sometimes they travel many miles to reach this only source of aid for their own sufferings and for those of their families.

Year after year the ever-increasing correspondence in the files of the Catholic Medical Mission Board bears witness to the medical needs of mission countries. Already some thousand mission stations, conducted by about one hundred different religious communities and missionary societies, have been aided by this Board. But the requests are so numerous and so immense that the more we do, the more we realize how much is to be done by those groups of our Catholic people whose providential task it is to aid the medical missions.

These correspondents also bear witness to the extraordinary efficacy of medical charities to open the hearts of the pagans and to awaken a desire to embrace the Catholic teaching which is the inspiration of all this work for the sick. Often the native population does not wish to hear the missionary, who preaches a new and strange doctrine, a doctrine in many ways opposed to their traditional beliefs. But as soon as they realize that this teaching inspires the practical charity of medical missions, they become interested and willing to listen. " When the missionary goes to preach in pagan villages," writes one Sister, " the people run indoors and shut doors and windows. But when we go about first with our basket filled with the medicines and bandages you sent us, the doors all open and the whole village flocks around. Then we can tell them to heed the missionary's teaching about that God-Man in Whose name we have come to aid them."

Amazing results, vast and wonderful sometimes, follow the medical missionary. Thus not long ago some Sisters from a Community which has missions in many lands came to plead for a station in China where the flood refugees were pouring in. At once three large packing cases of remedies, bandages, etc., were sent. Some months later the Sister in charge wrote to say that these supplies had arrived in the nick of time, when thousands of refugees, in terrible distress, had been herded into vacant sheds and abandoned pagodas in her district. Thousands were aided, and thousands baptized. One group in particular was fruitful in conversions. About a thousand men, condemned criminals awaiting execution, were huddled in an abandoned pagoda. The guards asked the

Sisters for masks to enable them to endure the stench of those unfortunates. Thus the Sisters won their good-will and were allowed to circulate among the condemned, many of whom were sick, and to alleviate their sufferings. Holding up a crucifix the Sisters explained the elementary doctrines of our faith and called on all to ask the Crucified Christ for mercy and pardon. With sobs and tears hundreds made the acts of faith and contrition. Since no priest was available, the Sisters baptized nearly the entire thousand, and they were almost at once taken out and beheaded. "Under God," the Sister wrote, "this was due to the medical aid you sent, which won their hearts."

This is only a sample of many such messages from missionaries. On the other hand, their letters often tell of desperate destitution. One Sister will write that so many natives come with bleeding ulcers and leprous sores to be dressed that the slender store of bandages is soon used up, and the Sisters have to wrap the wounds in sterilized newspapers to keep the dust and insects away. From a leper colony in Africa came a message recently imploring more bandages. "I used my petticoat yesterday," wrote the Sister, "and now I am putting raw cotton on their bleeding wounds—a worse than useless dressing, but it is all I have."

Thus a pressing need of the missions is for huge quantities of medicines, bandages and instruments, so that those who are working in many dispensaries and in the few mission hospitals can carry on. In an effort to meet this need, the Catholic Medical Mission Board buys quantities of these supplies and receives even greater quantities as a donation. Groups of devoted helpers make bandages and dressings which they send to the headquarters at 8 and 10 West 17th Street in New York City to be forwarded to the missions. About a hundred and twenty of these circles exist in various parts of the United States, and the sum total of bandages and dressings which they contribute for the missions is very imposing.

These Medical Mission Circles are organized in a simple way. Someone undertakes the leadership and brings together a group of friends, who meet in some convenient place—in a private house or in the parish rectory or hall. The gauze is

secured at wholesale rates by the Catholic Medical Mission Board, and those who make the bandages pay for the material as part of their contribution to the missions. The Board is governed by a Board of Directors composed of representatives of the great mission societies, the Propagation of the Faith, the Catholic Church Extension Society and the Catholic Near East Welfare Association.

The manufacturers of pharmaceutical preparations give considerable quantities of samples to doctors, in the hope that these preparations will be used in their practice and thus attain popularity. Some of these samples are used by the physicians, but many of them go to waste. Friends of the medical missions make it a point to visit the homes of the doctors at stated times to secure these medicines, which are then brought or shipped to the Catholic Medical Mission Board. At the headquarters, members of the recently founded community of Mission Health Sisters—The Daughters of Mary, Health of the Sick—are in charge of the sorting and packing and shipping of these supplies. As many of the Sisters are nurses, they are able to do this very efficiently. The work for medical missions is a highly specialized work, requiring study, experience, and a great deal of effort to adapt the help given to the needs of the various missions.

In the Catholic mission field we find every variety of medical need. There are a few well-equipped hospitals, with a competent staff of doctors and nurses, where the Sisters are able to give their patients almost every advantage which is enjoyed in this country or Europe. But such hospitals are extremely rare, and the missions in their present financial condition cannot afford to establish many more. Therefore, the missionaries must be content to do their best with inadequate means to meet the appalling medical needs of the people, hoping that years will bring them more ample resources and personnel.

Much greater in number than the hospitals are the mission dispensaries, and these again vary greatly in their character. Some of these mission dispensaries are well-equipped clinics, where the patients come in large numbers and are treated by

doctors with the help of nurses and laboratory technicians. In these clinics the natives receive much the same care that is given in the out-patient departments of our hospitals. But, again, these dispensaries are few in comparison with the great number of more primitive places where missionary priests and nuns, whose skill is generally derived from experience rather than from medical training, do what they can with the means at their disposal to meet the needs of the sick. Such dispensaries are extremely numerous. Almost every missionary in the primitive countries has some sort of dispensary—a medicine shelf and a bench outside his house—where the sick come and ask his advice and receive whatever aid he can give them. Though this help is sometimes unskilled and sometimes primitive, still there is a vast difference between having even this aid when one is suffering and having none at all. Those who come to these dispensaries sometimes walk a hundred miles in order to obtain a few tablets of aspirin or some other simple remedy for themselves or their friends.

We who have pharmacies in every street cannot realize what their poorest substitute means to the missionary and his pagan people. No matter how ill-equipped or ill-supplied with medicines, these primitive dispensaries are better than none at all. They are centres of mercy and of healing, and as such are invaluable to the native population. It is much to be desired that they become more scientific and better equipped, but this is impossible under present circumstances. Hundreds of these dispensaries are supplied with medicines, bandages, dressings and simple remedies through the Catholic Medical Mission Board, and the letters we receive from the missionaries attest abundantly the vast good which is done.

We must never forget that the work that is being accomplished in maintaining these sometimes primitive dispensaries is precious not only for its effects in the present, but for its assurance of better work in the future. When some zealous missionary priest or nun establishes one of these small dispensaries in the crowded population of the mission city, a seed is sown which will develop first into a more scientific and better equipped dispensary and next into a mission hospital.

For instance, at the request of a missionary nun in India, a packing case was sent her containing an assortment of various drugs and remedies suitable for the climate and people where she worked. She replied with a note of sincere thanks. A few months later, however, she wrote again to enclose the picture of a neat little building surrounded by a verandah on which crowds of people were waiting for treatment. "This building," she said, "and the work done in it are the result of a box of medicines you sent. First, I put the medicines on a shelf in our house; but they seemed to demand a better place for their administration, and I secured some funds and help from the people, and we built the dispensary of which I am sending you a picture. As you can see, it is very well patronized." This dispensary will, we trust, grow more and more important until it becomes a hospital, and the hospital will grow until it is a great institution.

In the United States a similar development has taken place during the last fifty years. Some fifty years ago little groups of devoted Sisters, without much technical training but moved with a great pity for the plight of the sick who had no place to go for treatment, began to rent or buy dwellings where they established little hospitals, with six or eight beds. The people flocked to the Sisters for help in their illnesses, and these hospitals, which began so humbly, have grown and grown through the years until now they are imposing institutions with every sort of scientific equipment and with large staffs of doctors and nurses. As the result of the immense services of the hospitals of the United States the American people are intensely interested in the improvement and increase of hospital work, so that it has been truly said that to give to hospitals is America's favourite philanthropy, and the Sisters have received sums which are startling in their magnitude, sometimes even from non-Catholics, for the development of their hospital facilities.

We should bear in mind, too, that the effectiveness of medical enterprise, from the standpoint of conversion to the Faith, is not to be measured by its material grandeur. Even when the Sisters have succeeded in erecting and fully equipping

a mission hospital, they have necessarily only a limited capacity for receiving guests. Hence, patients who require a great deal of care and attention come to the hospital and monopolize the attention of the Sisters, so that they may have to give less time to conversing with the patients and teaching them their religion than they would, if the patients were less acutely ill. In a dispensary, however, where the people come and go and where their ailments are less severe, so that all that is needed is the bandaging of a wound, the giving of some tablets of aspirin or the dropping of antiseptic liquids into inflamed eyes, etc., it is possible for the Sisters to spend much more time in talking to the people and telling them of the Church and of Our Lord and His desire that all men should be members of His one Holy Church. They can explain to the natives why they have come from their own land, far away, to devote their time to the care of people whom they have never seen before and in whom they have no interest other than that they are Christ's brethren. These conversations, coupled with the charitable actions of the Sisters or of the Priests in charge, have a great effect on the pagans. Thus it may happen that more conversions are actually made and more good-will is created by a mission dispensary, where thousands come for treatment for slighter ailments, than by a hospital where fewer and in a more dangerous condition come. This is not meant to detract from the immense services rendered by mission hospitals, but only to show that great good can be done by the dispensaries. Their deficiencies in equipment are often compensated for by the fruitfulness of their apostolate.

The effect of speaking so often about the medical side of the missions, of distributing vast amounts of literature, of giving radio addresses, of sending quantities of medical supplies to mission countries, and of interesting groups of Catholic people to work and save and beg for the medical side of missions, has a value beyond the actual aid given, because it educates our people to realize the importance of medical activity in mission lands and the duty of imitating the compassion of Our Lord toward the sick. Thus the medical mission activities of the Board actually help medical charity

at home, while they serve to interest Catholics more effectively in mission work in general. A non-Catholic doctor, who had worked in the missions for some time, once told the present writer: "We say in our denomination that in any religious gathering the most interesting appeal is the mission appeal and that in any mission meeting the most interesting appeal is the medical appeal." If this is not so in Catholic gatherings, it is because so little relatively has hitherto been said or done in behalf of the medical side of missions.

The Catholic Medical Mission Board, therefore, makes it a point to encourage and to give radio talks and conferences on the medical side of missions, and to distribute literature and publish articles, not only for the benefit of its own work but for medical and other mission activities in general. It also promotes two monthly novenas, in which it invites everyone to join, for the success of medical activities in general in the mission field. One of these is from the first to the ninth of each month in honour of Our Lady of Lourdes and St. Bernadette; the second is from the fifteenth to the twenty-third of each month in honour of St. Francis Xavier and the Little Flower, the official patrons of the Missions. A Mass of first intention is offered on each of these days—that is, eighteen times a month—for all who share in the work and for all who join in the novena by saying the prayers each day for the intention of the medical missions, particularly for the intentions of the Catholic Medical Mission Board. A little review called *Medical Mission News* is published every other month except during the summer, and many copies of the *Catholic Medical Mission Manual* have been distributed.

To give an idea of the work already accomplished by the Board, we shall quote from a report covering five years of work. During those five years the Catholic Medical Mission Board sent out 210,468 pieces of printed matter to interest Catholic people in the medical missions throughout the world, while the number of letters sent were 239,981. The bandages and dressings furnished to the missions during this period, measured in feet, were 16,911,096 feet. During the same period there were sent to the missions: 23,424 surgical instru-

ments ; 909,228 tablets of aspirin ; 3,382,501 other tablets and pills of medicinal preparations. At the same time many Masses, prayers and good works were offered, at the request of the Board, for medical missions throughout the world—they totalled, as far as the Board received a record, 5,749,782.

It would be long to give the list of all the communities aided in this way ; but among them were the Benedictines, Capuchins, Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits, Passionists, Vincentians, Missionary Servants of the Most Holy Trinity, Maryknoll Fathers, Society of the Divine Word, Mill Hill Fathers, La Salette Fathers, White Fathers, Oblate Fathers, Holy Ghost Fathers, Redemptorist Fathers, Sisters of St. Joseph, Canonesses of St. Augustine, Missionary Catechists, Sisters of St. Columban, Sisters of Charity, Holy Cross Sisters, Society of Catholic Medical Missionaries, Missionaries of the Sacred Heart, Sisters of the Holy Child, etc. The enumeration of these missionary societies indicates sufficiently the world-wide distribution of medical supplies carried out by the Catholic Mission Board ; for these societies have missions in every part of the world—throughout the Pacific and Indian Oceans ; in China, India and Africa ; in the East and West Indies. Over a thousand mission stations have been aided.

While we toil as best we can for the immediate needs of the missions, sending out huge quantities of medicines, instruments, bandages and dressings, absorbent cotton, and all the other requirements of medical mission work, we realize that, over and above the immediate help given to the sick by these first-aid supplies, there remains the constant need of well-trained doctors and nurses. The time, therefore, seems ripe for a new advance, for a new development in missionary organization—in a word, for a new missionary society.

Reading the innumerable letters which come from all parts of the world describing conditions in the missions and asking for help, the present writer was deeply impressed with the need of a new community to train native women to be doctors and nurses and at the same time skilful catechists. It is true that many communities have already undertaken this work as a part of their medical mission activities. In the hospitals

in the missions, the Sisters have courageously established schools of nursing for native women and have contrived to educate a number of nurses in this way. But it is evident that, to meet the vast and growing needs of the missions, a community is wanted which will specialize in the conduct of schools of nursing and afterwards of a school of medicine, so as to raise up a well-trained body of professional native doctors and nurses who will be able to co-operate with the missionaries in fulfilling the double function of doctors (or nurses) and catechists—the former being their primary function.

For this reason it was suggested to his Eminence Cardinal Hayes, Archbishop of New York, to establish a new community whose purpose it would be to help the medical side of the missions. His Eminence kindly approved this plan and on May 29, 1935 issued an indult to the present writer authorizing the establishment of a new community to be called "The Daughters of Mary, Health of the Sick," whose purpose it would be to help the medical missions, both by co-operating with the work of the Catholic Medical Mission Board in conducting its office service and shipping department, and especially by sending some of its members, well trained and professionally equipped, to establish schools of nursing in the mission field—with the hope of founding afterwards a medical school. This is a new departure in the mission field—namely, the establishment of a community primarily for educational purposes along medical lines. Happily it was approved and confirmed by the remarkable epoch-making instruction issued on February 11, 1936 by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda on the saving of the lives of mothers and children in the missions. (Cf. *Acta Apos. Sedis*, 1936, p. 208.)

This instruction began by saying that the Holy Father has received so many appeals from mission bishops throughout the world to save the lives of mothers and children (who were dying in such numbers that some of the tribes were becoming extinct) that he has decided to adapt the methods of the Church to this crying need of the time, and has authorized the Sacred Congregation to announce that the Holy See wishes new communities of Sisters to be established for this express

purpose of saving mothers and children. Communities which already exist are encouraged to train some of their members for this same work. It was made clear in this instruction that the Sisters are not only allowed but encouraged to become doctors and even surgeons, provided that their spiritual life is safeguarded and that no Sister is obliged to take up this work unless she freely desires to do so. Their professional training is to be a thorough one and is to be completed with the usual degrees and diplomas required by the State.

The instruction further says that the Sisters need not try to do all the work themselves, but should rather instruct native women to be their helpers, and this again is precisely the purpose of the Daughters of Mary, Health of the Sick. Encouraged by such approval and with a realization of the vast good to be accomplished, the community has made great strides in developing its work. Out of hundreds of applications, a group have been chosen who have already received a good religious formation and are entering into the active part of their apostolate. The constitution and rules have been approved by his Eminence Cardinal Hayes, and plans are being rapidly developed for the first school of nursing and for the further expansion of the community. It is intended above all to give the members a thorough training, both religious and professional, and to secure for those who are to do the teaching a special preparation for that work.

The community has also acquired a property for the motherhouse which is marvellously adapted to its needs, and has established there a training school and a Hospice of Rest where the Sisters can practise charity and at the same time learn the details of supervision and management. The new motherhouse, called Vista Maria, is situated on one of the most beautiful mountains in New York State, the Shawangunk range, about seventy-five miles from the George Washington Bridge which connects New York with New Jersey. It is the former estate of the late George Inness Jr., famous landscape artist, who devoted twenty-eight years and a great sum of money to making a home for himself on the crest of the mountain. The property, which has every natural advantage,

is a most suitable spot for the novitiate and motherhouse, while at the same time providing a place of study and recuperation for the Sisters who will be brought home periodically from the mission field to study the latest developments in nursing and medicine and to recover from the effects of a foreign climate.

Vista Maria will thus be a centre both of piety and science, a school of asceticism and of medicine, as it will become a place of research in the best methods of educating mission doctors and nurses. Already a group of young women who have been trained in nursing education have been received as postulants or are members of the community. It is desired to receive postulants from various countries who are well educated and who are endowed with the qualities of mind and heart to fit them for this work. About one-third of all the members of the community must be specially trained to teach medicine and nursing; the other two-thirds will have other work in the administration of the community and in the various offices which do not specially require professional training. In the religious training of the Sisters the Jesuit system of spirituality, as found in the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, is employed; and the constitution and rules are also modelled after his teachings. It is desired too that the professional and educational standard of the community shall be very high, so as to give the missions the advantage not only of their prayers but also of a culture and education which will make their students renowned throughout the mission field.

The first enterprise of the Sisters will be a mission hospital and a mission school of nursing, centrally located, where native girls will be trained to become competent nurses. The more promising will be prepared as teachers, and they can in turn establish schools of nursing in affiliation with the large central school. Another feature of the work of the Sisters will be to train all their student nurses, and later on their student doctors, as professional catechists. This catechetical training will go hand in hand with the professional training as nurses and doctors, and it will result in the equipment of the nurse or doctor to speak intelligently about matters of religion. It is well

known that the sick in the missions often look to the nurse or doctor for information which will lead them to the true faith. If the doctor or nurse is ready to give this information by reason of careful catechetical training and knows how to say the right thing at the right time, this double character of nurse-catechist or doctor-catechist will be of great advantage in the missions. On the other hand, too many are uncertain as to what to say, or have not had an effective preparation to explain tactfully and convincingly to teach the Faith. Therefore they miss many opportunities to help the soul as well as the body. It is hoped, by a combination of medical (or nursing) and catechetical teaching, to supply to the missionary valuable auxiliaries who, while remaining in their place as layfolk, will be ready to help the priest in matters of the soul as well as the body. The plan is to send these native women to nurse for the missions, not as individuals (which has been found to be unsatisfactory and sometimes dangerous) but as little organized groups of lay workers, with a lay superior and with rules and regulations which will insure their effective co-operation and their personal safety.

Those who are interested in learning more of the community or in making application for membership are invited to address the present writer at 10 West 17th Street, New York. This address is also the headquarters of the Catholic Medical Mission Board, where some of the community are in charge of the office work and service. They manage and sort out, with the aid of other workers under their direction, vast quantities of medical supplies which come in day by day from all parts of the country, and they also attend to the routine of the office, filing and correspondence, thus daily helping the Catholic Medical Mission Board. EDWARD F. GARESCHÉ

[It is only right to draw the attention of our readers to the fact that Ireland has already responded to the call of the Holy Father for a new kind of work in the mission field. A Medical Missionary Society, the Medical Missionaries of Mary, has been founded from Ireland. The Foundress of this new Society is Mother Mary Martin, who, having worked in Nigeria under His Excellency Bishop Shanahan from 1921 to 1924, realised the necessity for medical work to be done

by Religious. But the fact that Religious were excluded by the Church from certain medical work, especially maternity work, seemed to make the project impossible. That difficulty was removed by the instruction issued, in February 1936, by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda.

The history of the foundation of the Society of M.M.M. can only be briefly sketched here. The institute owes its existence to the efforts of His Excellency Archbishop Riberi, Apostolic Delegate to Africa, and of Rt. Rev. Monsignor Moynagh, Prefect Apostolic of the Province of Calabar and of Ogoja. At their invitation Miss Martin, Miss Brigid O'Rourke and Miss Mary Moynagh left Dublin on the 29 December 1936 and reached Calabar in January 1937. At Anua on Low Sunday Mgr. Moynagh, with authority from Rome, canonically erected the institute. On that day Miss Martin was professed, and her two companions entered the novitiate under the direction of Mother Mary Bernard, a Religious of the Order of the Holy Child Jesus. The two sisters were professed in December 1937 and are now in charge of the Hospital at Anua. Miss O'Rourke (Sister Mary Magdalen) has already been trained in midwifery at the National Maternity Hospital, Dublin, where several of the aspirants are at present in course of training. Miss Martin, now Mother Mary Martin, has with the permission of ecclesiastical authority opened a house in Dublin for the accommodation of the aspirants who are receiving medical instruction in the hospitals and university.

The Medical Missionaries of Mary are a true religious institute, with public vows and all the privileges and responsibilities of the religious state. The distinctive work in which this latest religious foundation will express itself will be medical work of all kinds in the mission field. Its members will be doctors, chemists, nurses, midwives, domestic instructors, etc., all of whom will have the required diplomas. Everything in the institute—the constitutions, rules, duties, method of prayer, habit, order of time—will be framed so as to allow the fullest freedom for medical work. For instance the Sisters do not wear the traditional religious habit, but wear the professional dress of a doctor or nurse.

This new foundation is the response of Ireland to the call of the Holy Father for new measures with which to meet the new needs of our day. In it many girls will see an opportunity of giving their best natural gifts and themselves to the service of God and the salvation of souls. Inquiries about the Medical Missionaries of Mary should be addressed to Mother Mary Martin, Rosemount House, Booterstown Avenue, Co. Dublin.—Note added by H. K.]

THE VULNERABILITY OF IRELAND IN WAR

BY COLONEL J. J. O'CONNELL, M.A.

IN an earlier article (December 1937) the attempt was made to explain three truths. These were :

1. That Ireland was by the facts of geography a country of primary importance in the military sense ;

2. That this character was never realised by the Irish people themselves, although it was so by the English from the earliest times ;

3. That, owing to scientific developments, this character of the country in due course came to be realised—and in part exploited—by foreign nations other than the English and at war with the latter.

The examination of these three aspects of the matter was carried down as far as the interventions of Revolutionary France—*i.e.* 1796-7-8. It is the aim of the present article to continue the investigation down to the present day, and even to hazard a peep into the nearer and more easily foreseeable future. It will be found that, in a general way, the three aspects have remained constants—and do still so remain. It might have been thought that the enormous spread of reading-matter, and the interpolation of such a stupendous event as the World War, would have caused some change in the second of the three aspects. Such, however, was not the case. Indeed, the change would have implied a contradiction : it is not in the nature of "*constants*" to change.

Ireland in 1914

When the World War broke out in 1914, Ireland had been for one hundred and sixteen years without experience of war—*i.e.* the longest continuous period in all her history. Thus, for well over a century the great bulk of the Irish people were completely cut off from international politics, and were correspondingly indifferent to what was happening elsewhere—except in a partial and disjointed way. To this cause we must

attribute the fact that realisation of the country's international significance—strong enough from force of circumstances at the beginning of the nineteenth century—had sunk to zero by the end of that period. In short, the World War of 1914 took the country—as regards its own significance—completely by surprise.

The effect of this was all the more far-reaching because this century of maximum Irish apathy was precisely the century of maximum scientific progress. Whereas advances in technical science between 1500 and 1800 had been slow and gradual, from 1800 to 1900 the bound had been immense. Enterprises that formerly were difficult and uncertain now became far easier of being accomplished with complete certainty.

It is, indeed, true that one Irishman—of completely suitable "formation," as the French aptly style it—kept the cardinal issue always in view. As long as a year and a half before the World War Sir Roger Casement, as we have seen, realised all the implications with complete clearness. Again and again in articles written about that time he reiterated his conviction of the exceptional international significance of Ireland. Indeed, he went further and expressly accused the English of a policy of hush-hush in the matter. This was hardly correct—for, even if they had wished to do so, it would not have been possible for them to muzzle Admiral Mahan: rather, indeed, had they taken him to heart as an instructor.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL ATTRACTION PERSISTS

Thus, despite obvious indications of the country's importance; despite, moreover, the beginnings of some sort of a military consciousness as a result of the Volunteer movement, Ireland, as a whole, realised the nature of the World War issues only very dimly. Dr. Vaughan Cornish, the eminent Lecturer in the Royal Naval College, could say after a year and a half of hostilities: "The south, west and north coasts of Ireland are indented by long, sheltered, deep-water inlets which afford magnificent shelter for fleets, though their advantage as harbours is apt to be forgotten by civilians

owing to the circumstance that most of them are distant from any manufacturing or trading centre and have, therefore, no commercial use. The strategic importance of Ireland is not realised by the average citizen, because its foreign relations have long been merged in those of the neighbouring island."[1] This is only another way of stating the fact that Ireland possessed what we have called an objective " geographical attraction "—altogether independent of the subjective knowledge or ignorance of its inhabitants.

So far, it will be noted, Ireland was still a naval factor—strictly *naval*. At the same time, the country was infinitely more easily reached by reason of the submarine warship. And the volume and nature of the traffic passing round its coasts was of an incomparably higher degree of importance than anything previously existing. Consequently, it need not surprise us at all to find that during the World War the Irish coast operations established—and still hold—a number of very remarkable " records." Thus, the *Audacious* was the largest and most powerful ship of war ever sunk—in that or any other war : the *Laurentic*, an armed merchant cruiser carrying a sum in bullion variously estimated at from five to nine million sterling from Liverpool to New York and sunk in the same area of waters as the *Audacious*—was the most valuable ship and cargo ever sent to the bottom : the *Lusitania* off the south-west coast and the similar *Justitia* at the opposite end of Ireland's longer diagonal were the two largest vessels ever sunk by submarines. These were examples of the " geographical attraction " of Ireland being operative—with a vengeance !

There existed also further possibilities. If we suppose that a twentieth-century Strafford or, for a moment, that the Germans had been able to use Big Bertha from (which is a better word than *in*) Ireland as long ago as twenty years to the month, what important regions could have been taken under fire ? The list is truly impressive :

1. From Fair Head –the entire Firth of Clyde together with Lamlash and the industrial region of Ayrshire.

[1] *Irish Times*, Sunday, Jan. 16th, 1916.

2. From Ballyhalbert—the Whitehaven coal district.

3. From Killiney Hill—Holyhead and the southern entrance to Menai Strait.

4. From Wicklow Head—the waters round Bardsey Island and almost Criccieth.

5. From Carnsore Point—Fishguard and its railway inland, Milford Haven and Pembroke Dock.[1]

And in none of these cases would there have been French battleship guns on railway mountings to execute a counter-battery fire.

THE EASTER INSURRECTION OF 1916

Proving the rule, there was one notable exception to Irish ignorance and apathy vis-a-vis the World War. This was the Easter Insurrection of 1916. To get this event in its international strategic setting we can do no better than quote the greatest of living naval writers: "Admiral Scheer, having renewed his normal watching disposition, resumed his project for an operation against the English coast. This he proposed to carry out in the Lowestoft area on the 23rd or 24th April. This operation was, moreover, directly linked up with the Rising to be undertaken in Ireland on Easter Sunday. The Irish insurgents asked, in effect, that their uprising should be supported not merely by forwarding arms and ammunition (which the steamer *Libau*, taken by the English, vainly tried to bring them) and by the landing of their chief leader (Casement landed from the submarine U.19 on April 21st in Tralee Bay), *but also by a strong action by the High Seas Fleet and by airships against the east coast of England.*" [2]

The cardinal matter here to be noted is the express—and synchronised—linking up of a military operation in Ireland with another five hundred miles away: in other words, participation *on the tactical plane* in a remote operation of war. Moreover, as Admiral Castex proceeds to point out, the coastal bombardment caused such an uproar in England that an ill-advised dispersion of powerful ships, against the technical

[1] Cp. Lt.-Col. H. W. Miller: "The Paris Gun"; passim.
[2] Admiral Castex: *Théories Stratégiques*, Vol. II, p. 235.

advice of its Commander-in-Chief Admiral Jellicoe, was made from the Grand Fleet. "It is certain," says the eminent French authority, "that this distribution of forces and the difficulty of concentration resulting from it could only assist to a great extent the Germans' possibility of manoeuvre." [1]

British Naval Measures in Ireland

After Easter 1916 there was no further express realisation of the implications of the matter—not even a "German Plot." But, on the other hand, English naval measures were enormously extended by reason of the Submarine Commerce Warfare during the two last years of the war. As from Christmas 1916 the "C.-in-C., Coast of Ireland" became the "C.-in-C., Western Approaches." But in a magazine article it is not necessary to go into the details of these naval measures: there is an absolute wealth of literature on the subject.

It was about this time—Spring of 1917—that the Allied naval chiefs had all but resigned themselves to losing the war by simple starvation. It would be an interesting question to investigate whether, in this Spring of 1917, the complete stoppage of Irish food supplies would not have been enough to turn the scale? The margin of safety in England was very small—it is never very large, indeed [2]; and the crucial year, 1917, witnessed a very remarkable increase in the area under tillage in Ireland—the vast bulk of the increased yield going to England. The problem is one of quite exceptional interest, and quite possibly published matter exists capable of furnishing at least an approximate answer.

Post-War Developments

It has been stated that the technical scientific developments during the nineteenth century exerted an influence on Ireland's geographical strategic position equal to that exercised during the three preceding centuries. It is not any exaggeration to say that the twenty years since the World War have in turn exercised as much influence as the nineteenth century. Apart

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 241.
[2] Admiral Sims: *The Victory at Sea*, earlier chapters.

from what might be styled routine improvements in the newest types of warship—*e.g.* submarine and aircraft-carrier—the new influence capable of being exerted on Ireland is to be attributed to two main lines of development, aviation and wireless.

Of these two new "arms," as we may call them, it will be preferable to first consider wireless, although it is the less important. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that aviation, without wireless, has its effectiveness reduced at least one-half—which, after all, is simply one more instance of "la permanence des principes, encore la liaison des armes."

Wireless is commonly regarded as at least pacific—if not, indeed, pacifist. In reality it is an essential element in modern war, because it annihilates distance. If one adversary disposes of a notable superiority in this respect, he at once secures an enormous advantage. The Italian General Bollati thus describes the work of this arm in Ethiopia: "Wireless proved of extreme usefulness for communication between Command and troops, between columns separated by hundreds of kilometres, and finally to link up the home country with the combatants in Ethiopia." [1] In contra-distinction to this it may be asserted that lack of wireless—*i.e.* isolation—was quite ordinary during the World War, even on vital missions. For example, the "Aud," though commanded by an officer of the calibre of Spindler and manned by a hand-picked crew and wished bon voyage by Admiral Scheer himself, had no wireless! [2] Such a state of affairs is unthinkable at the present day.

But it is when we come to consider the advance in aviation that we realise how Ireland's former isolation has become a thing of the past. No degree of internal apathy can ever undo what has been accomplished regarding our status in this respect. Ireland is now easily accessible by the aircraft of every first-class Power—with the possible, but not certain, exception of Japan. To prove this proposition we will take the case of Soviet Russia. In June of last year a Russian plane, with a crew of three, flew from Moscow across the

[1] "La Campagne Italo-Ethiopienne," in *Revue Militaire Générale*, Feb. 1937.
[2] Capt. K. Spindler: *The Mystery of the Casement Ship*, Ch. III.

North Pole to Portland, Oregon. One month later a second plane, of the same type but with a completely different crew, flew from Moscow by the same route to San Jacinto, California. As the greater contains the less, we need not stop to analyse the potentialities of any Power nearer than Russia: it is easier in every case.

Mention of Russia brings up naturally the "Parachute Infantry" introduced some years back in that country by the ill-fated Marshal Tukhachevsky. These are troops trained to land by parachute in rear of an enemy's lines, being equipped with machine-guns and other material suitable for maintaining a combat of reasonable intensity and duration. They are thus capable of operating under a wider set of conditions than infantry in ordinary troop-carrying planes—which latter require a regular landing-ground. Admittedly, the idea is as yet in the experimental stage. It has, however, afforded the theme for a very interesting study by a Swedish Officer on the defence of Gothland Island against such a form of invasion.[1] One thing is quite certain: *if* a force can be thus landed in an isolated region, it can certainly be kept supplied by air: "Its (*i.e.* Aviation's) tactical co-operation has enabled isolated forces (at Gabba) to hold out for several days against a far more numerous enemy." (Gen. Bollati *op. cit.*). The notable character of this form of operation is that, if realised, it effectively disposes of the inherent weakness of Air Action in general—*i.e.* its inability to hold ground and the consequent element of transience attaching to it.

The New Interest in Air Warfare

Just at present there is certainly a considerable amount of interest taken in the possibilities of Air Warfare; even in Ireland this is the case. It is common enough to hear the matter discussed in a quite matter-of-fact and reasonable way, though there may not be any very accurate grasp of the technical side. But it is a common feature of these discussions to stress only one aspect of Air Warfare—*i.e.* the intensive employment of gas from aircraft. This particular feature

[1] *Revue Militaire Générale*, Decr. 1937, p. 812.

lends itself to the play of popular fancy, but it is open to question whether it is the form of air attack to which Ireland would most likely be subjected. This is not to say that the general public should not be trained in the use of the gas-mask, nor that gas-masks should not be made available for any body who sought to acquire them. Quite the contrary. All that is meant is that the matter of gas-bombing should not be allowed to blind public opinion to the existence of other and, on the whole, more probable forms of air attack. In the three most recent wars—Ethiopia, Spain, China—the role of aircraft in general has been of the first importance, while that of gas has been very secondary. Indeed, gas has so far been used in only one of these conflicts, *i.e.* the Ethiopian ; and in that its employment was certainly very limited and much less useful than other aspects of Air Warfare.

We have already had in Ireland—well before any of the three wars mentioned—a striking example of the real potentialities of the Air Arm ; but, just because it was not an operation of war, it has been forgotten. This was the visit of Marshal Balbo's " Air Armada " *en route* from Italy to the U.S.A. This great cruise merits a certain amount of detailed analysis : but, before doing so, it is necessary to point out that it took place nearly five years ago. Consequently, it may be regarded as well below the possibilities of the present day. There is a further point, the selection of the Azores instead of Ireland as the safer route for the return journey. This, of course, was entirely by reason of the fact that the flight was a peacetime one and that it was, accordingly, necessary to consider the safety of personnel and material alike. Considerations were therefore operative that in wartime would not weigh for a moment with a capable commander and well-found craft. Moreover, if Marshal Balbo changed his plans as to the return route, he also availed himself of the presence of extra personnel who happened to be available : " in view of certain incidents regarding coming down at the Azores, I had embarked the eight N.C.O. Riggers of the ' Alice ' and four reserve pilots." [1]

The Armada consisted of twenty-four seaplanes. One was

[1] Report to il Duce by Marshal Balbo.

lost at Amsterdam on the outward journey and replaced by a reserve plane. One N.C.O. was killed, and this was the only casualty. Each machine had a crew of four or five; the total personnel strength was about 100 (110 on the return journey). Although the craft were sea-planes, most of the pilots were not naval officers at all, but had to get some initial training in the handling of small boats. The machines were ordinary standard service sea-planes of the period. There was no "stunt" about the enterprise—although, naturally, there was careful preparation. The route from Italy to Chicago was divided up as follows:

Europe	Orbetello—Amsterdam	875	miles
	Amsterdam—Derry	625	,,
	Derry—Reykjavik	935	,,
Atlantic	Reykjavik—Cartwright	1,500	,,
America	Cartwright—Shediac	750	,,
	Shediac—Montreal	500	,,
	Montreal—Chicago	875	,,

This gives a total distance of 6,060 miles flown in seven stages, or an average of about 865 miles per stage—say, four hours duration at present-day flying speeds. But, of course, the remarkable feature of the "Decennale" cruise was not its distance of flight, but its clock-work regularity. Flying routine, as we may term it, has developed in truly remarkable fashion since the World War.

The fact that the Air Armada consisted of sea-planes prompts an observation as to the possibilities of this type of aircraft in Ireland. Even though there may not be many Loughs Foyle, there are still numerous spacious inlets of the sea and river estuaries. Also, there are at least a few well-distributed rivers of some size and numerous lakes with flat shores. Altogether, it seems at least possible to attempt the carrying out of a landing in some force from sea-planes. There is no reason why a handy air squadron to-day should not attempt what a handy naval squadron accomplished with Humbert one hundred and forty years ago. And there is always the submarine in the offing.

The True Air Danger

But, when all is said and done, the true danger from air attack is from the honest, straightforward bombing raid with high-explosive and incendiary bombs in suitable proportions. From lack of suitable objectives this method was not very noticeable—though not altogether absent—in the Ethiopian war; but in both Spain and China it has been the main form of Air Action, because in each case there were targets of suitable character in plenty. It is desirable to get a sound idea of what is a suitable target for a raid of this character because it is a serious mistake to assume that any responsible commander initiates such an operation from sheer wanton "frightfulness."

An Air Commander, in selecting the objective for his raid, will choose one of military (including, of course, naval) or economic importance—an arsenal, an important harbour, a great railway centre, or something of the kind. He will not bomb a country-side, because there he can hit nothing that would weaken the enemy to any appreciable extent. But a very little reflexion will satisfy us that in Ireland there is quite a fair choice of suitable objectives for air raiding. It will suffice, however, to confine our considerations to a single example—by far the most important, it is true.

The air target in Ireland, par excellence, is Dublin. It is, in fact, several targets in one—a harbour, a store-house, a rail and road centre, the only link between the northern and southern halves of the country—a real bottle-neck in every way. From the military airman's point of view, the Irish capital is a real "sitting shot," if ever there was one. And, unhappily, even the best airmen have no code forbidding sitting shots if these are necessary to fill the bag.

The only question that remains to be considered is whether any set of war-circumstances is conceivable in which the bombing of Dublin on a serious scale would be worth while? The best way to answer this question is by asking another. Would it, at any stage in the World War, have been worth while for the German High Command to have done so? It seems that there was certainly one occasion on which

it would have been—during the Spring of 1917. We have seen that, at that time, the food-supplies from Ireland—in great part exported from Dublin—were an important factor in combating the submarine blockade of Great Britain. If an air raid could have put Dublin definitely out of commission as an exporting centre, it would certainly have been carried out. But, of course, at the period German planes had difficulty in reaching England, let alone Ireland. The case is far otherwise to-day : and in a recurrence of the 1917 situation the raid would certainly be carried out—and would be repeated until at least a partial success was obtained.

It is important in all this to note that, while the bombardment would have been motived in the first instance by a cause outside Ireland, the consequences inside the country would be of the utmost seriousness. Dublin " knocked out," the entire country would be completely disorganised ; because Dublin is by far the largest and most important centre. It is, in reality, a glaring example of a megacephalic capital city, with all the consequences that that entails.

It is easier to explain why a raid would be made on Dublin than to arrange to counter it. A good deal is possible, as far as saving life is concerned, by an efficient warning system, by rehearsing " black-outs," etc. These cost nothing and are valuable training for the population ; but they are concerned exclusively with the actual raid while it is " on." It would, in addition, be necessary to work out arrangements for evacuation—with all the consequent details of transport, rationing and housing. All this, too, can be done in peacetime. Indeed, it can be done *only* then. *Si vis pacem, para bellum !*

J. J. O'Connell

BAKUNIN AND SPANISH ANARCHISM

BY PROFESSOR E. ALLISON PEERS, M.A.

Michael Bakunin. By E. H. Carr. (Macmillan. 1937. 25s.).

Bakunin, his ideas, his followers, and the development and adaptation of his ideas by his followers have sprung into notice of late by reason of the successful self-imposition of Anarchism in Spain during the early months of the Civil War. Even those who had for long studied Spanish politics with care had little idea of the penetration into the working-class mentality of distinctively Bakuninist principles and were inclined either to represent left-wing extremism as " Syndicalism *versus* Socialism " or to group everything to the left of Besteiro-Prieto Socialism as " Communism." (Since Spanish Anarchists, by the way, are accustomed to refer to themselves as " Libertarian Communists "—*i.e.*, believers in the " free commune " system, there is some justification for this practice). *The Times*, which during the time of the Second Republic was excellently served by its Madrid correspondent, allowed itself in a leading article (July 27, 1931) to describe the Spanish Communists as " indistinguishable from Anarchists " : " their aim is the overthrowing of any Government just because it is a Government, and their methods are disruption and havoc." " There is no great Communist Party proper in Spain," wrote the *Times* Madrid correspondent eight months later (March 28, 1932). " Socialists and Syndicalists alike raise the Red Flag and use the hammer and sickle as emblems, as do the Communist groups. . . . . The Iberian Federation of Anarchists hoist the black flag on occasions, but without the piratical skull and cross-bones. During the recent rebellion in the Llobregat Valley in Catalonia red and black flags appeared side by side. Although in theory Communism and Anarchism are contradictory, and of Syndicalism there are many varieties, no very clear distinctions are drawn in Spain, and the partisans of divers groups follow their leaders rather than principles."

That, from 1931 to 1936, was the view of left-wing extremism in Spain held by the well-informed. More casual observers knew only that there had been Anarchists in Spain in the past, but had no idea that they had had a continuous history there going back to 1869, and rather fancied that if any were now left they functioned only at Barcelona and in any case had lost their influence since the Tragic Week of 1909. Possibly the idea was that they had united with the Syndicalists—who were frequently described as " Anarcho-Syndical-

ists " : it was not until the extremists saw in the Army rebellion of July 1936 an opportunity to declare their Proletarian Revolution that there was any general realization of the enormous strength of the F.A.I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation), that small but fanatical body which of set purpose remained outside the law in order to maintain the purity of its doctrines, with which it took every possible means of impregnating the larger body.

The degree of success which they attained may be gathered from the terrible record of sacrilege, atrocity and murder in Barcelona during the latter half of 1936, to which I have drawn attention in my *Catalonia Infelix*. We realise now that Anarchism, militant, fanatically and avowedly atheistic, has for seventy years been an important under-current in Spanish politics, that with the declaration of the Proletarian Revolution it came quickly to the surface, and that, though for the moment the difficulty of winning the War has halted the Revolution and has forced Anarchism underground since its spectacular display of war within war in May 1937, it is bound to play an important and probably a dominant part in post-war Spain if General Franco is defeated.

For all these reasons one is interested in Anarchism—a revolutionary movement which, though arising in nineteenth-century Russia, could come to fruition as nowhere else in twentieth-century Spain. And most of all is one interested in the personality of its founder and the relation of his ideas to those of modern Anarchism. All students of politics, therefore, will welcome the biography of Bakunin written by Professor E. H. Carr, who recently went from the Foreign Office to succeed Sir Alfred Zimmern in the Wilson Chair of International Politics at Aberystwyth. In his closing pages the author refers to Spain, " where Bakunin's influence proved more durable than in any other European country " and where Anarchism " kept its place as the most effective and explosive revolutionary creed." Indeed, he goes so far as to say that, on the eve of the outbreak of the Civil War, it was " the accepted doctrine of the most powerful wing of the workers' movement," a somewhat vague phrase to one interpretation of which the present writer would beg to demur. But Professor Carr could certainly not have foreseen that his book would appear at a moment when interest in the subject had been brought by political events to so high a pitch, for its length, fullness and conscientious exploration of sources testify to a work which has been many years in preparation.

It is a notable achievement to have produced a work at once in its nature so scholarly, in its execution so perfect and in its outlook so completely detached. Some might even object that its detachment is excessive, for there is probably no living Englishman as competent to speak to us of Bakunin, and one feels that events, dates and documents

do perhaps too much of the speaking and the author not enough. There is not even a preface or an introduction. Two positive minor blemishes the book has. Its size and fullness call for an analytical table of contents or for some guide to these—possibly in the form of running headlines—more adequate than the terse captions to each chapter. And the index, a mere table of proper names, is altogether unworthy of what will undoubtedly be a standard book for many years to come.

It would be of little service to summarize the narrative given us by Professor Carr of Bakunin's turbulent, complicated and in places rather uninspiring career. His life was not a long one: it extended from 1814 to 1876. But it cannot be described briefly, because it is so intimately bound up with lives of other people, with movements and with philosophy. Professor Carr pilots us skilfully through the early years in which Bakunin developed some strange relationships and revealed himself in his own family circle as a rebel. We have close and intimate pictures of him in the Petersburg artillery school; as a student of philosophy in Berlin; as a giant conscious of his strength and rejoicing in the upheavals of 1848; "buried alive" in Saxon and Austrian prisons; a revolutionary in London, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Florence, Naples; hand in hand with Marx in 1844 and face to face with him over twenty years later; finally, after an avalanche of storms, on his death-bed at Berne, attended by only one of his compatriots, a woman. There is irony in the description of him in the official municipal record of deaths as *Michel de Bakounine, rentier.*

But of much greater interest than the details of his wanderings, rebellions and friendships is the composite picture which we get of the man himself. Physically, he was unattractive, often repulsive. In his forty-eighth year, for example, "he had aged and coarsened, almost beyond recognition. A giant in stature, he had swelled enormously in bulk and weighed twenty stone, reminding Herzen of a mastodon and the more prosaic Marx of a bullock. He had lost all his teeth; and he allowed his thick curly hair and beard to grow in luxuriant neglect." Twelve years later, the alternation of prison life with disorderly indulgence had changed him still further. His figure had swelled to even more "enormous dimensions. His appearance and gait were alike elephantine . . . . . The iron-grey hair still strayed over his imposing forehead and the grey-blue eyes had not lost their penetrating brilliance. But beneath them hung heavy pouches of skin and the whole face was flabby and swollen." Yet even in these unflattering portraits there is a suggestion of a greatness far other than that of size. And when we read the graphic contemporary descriptions of some of his public appearances, we begin to realize that it was not wholly out of derision that Swiss urchins cried after

him in the streets and not wholly because of an easy-going temperament that he tolerated their doing so :—

> As with heavy, awkward gait he mounted the steps leading to the platform where the Bureau sat, dressed as carelessly as ever in a sort of grey blouse, beneath which was visible not a shirt but a flannel vest, the cry passed from mouth to mouth : " Bakunin !" Garibaldi, who was in the chair, stood up, advanced a few steps and embraced him. This solemn meeting of two old and tried warriors of revolution produced an astonishing impression.

" Thus," comments Professor Carr, " did Bakunin take his official place among the leaders of European democracy."

Or again, on a less important occasion, which must have been paralleled by thousands of others—his arrival in Zurich " with a band of his followers to dine at a *pension* frequented by impecunious students " —:

> The door opened wide and there appeared the enormous form of Michael Alexandrovich Bakunin. All at once fell silent. The eyes of all were involuntarily riveted on Bakunin. It was so much a matter of habit for him to attract notice that he was not embarrassed by these challenging looks, and advanced the length of the room to his seat with an easy, measured, free gait. The attention of all present was fixed on him ; and nobody noticed the numerous suite of Frenchmen, Spaniards, Russians and Serbs who followed in his wake. . . . . .
>
> Turning first to one, then to another, he would speak without the least embarrassment now in German, now in Italian, now in French, now in Spanish . . . . . He was in good form to-day . . . . . Everyone listened to his easy, graceful utterance. Not only at his table was there a solemn, rather obsequious silence ; those sitting at our table also remained dumb.

One would like also to penetrate into whatever personal and psychological reasons there may have been for the break between Marx and Bakunin. Despite the community of ideas which the two revolutionaries at first shared, there was no close affinity between their temperaments. One of the two, after all, was a Russian aristocrat ; the other, the son of a Jewish lawyer. " For Bakunin, Marx's nature always remained something alien and repellent. Marx was hard, meticulous and calculating. He practised a scientific socialism professedly based on pure thought ; and for Bakunin nothing was good which was not tinged with emotion." " We met fairly often," wrote Bakunin once of the early forties in Paris, when he first knew Marx,

> because I very much admired him for his knowledge and for his passionate and earnest devotion to the cause of the proletariat, although it always had in it an admixture of personal vanity . . . . . But there was never real intimacy between us. Our temperaments did not allow it. He called me a sentimental idealist ; and he was right. I called him morose, vain and treacherous ; and I too was right.

What kind of temperamental make-up had this " sentimental idealist " and what heredity and environment were responsible for the formation of a programme the fulfilment of which seems to its critics utterly impracticable, even if it were desirable, and to its exponents seems the only satisfactory type of solution to the world's social problems ? He was, as has been said, an aristocrat, the son of an elderly father, the grandson of a Councillor of State to Catherine II. Some of his elders were noted for their piety and he had a strictly

religious upbringing. During the friendships and love affairs which revealed him as what he remained all his life—an incurable Romantic—he preserved at least a great part of his faith. As a young man he knew something of the interior life: he might easily have become a mystic. "I am not made for external life or external happiness," he wrote at the age of twenty-two, "and do not want it. . . . I live a purely inner life. I remain within my *I*, and am wholly buried in it, and only this *I* unites me with God."

But he took the wrong turning. His romantic emotional nature he retained to the end, but before he was fifty he had renounced all belief in God. Now and then, in his late forties, he would muse in an "old-fashioned romantic vein," speak of his faith in a Divine power and declare that he was "seeking God in revolution" or that "God is freedom." But soon, unable to reconcile the freedom of man with the existence of God, he finally denied the latter; in his *Catechism of a Freemason* he declares that "belief in a personal God is incompatible with reason and with human liberty"; and he becomes "a convinced and fervent atheist." "Atheism will henceforth figure at the head of all his political programmes."

Atheism has remained at the head of the Anarchist programme, both in Spain and elsewhere. "If there were no God," said Voltaire, "it would be necessary to invent him." "If there were a God," exclaims Peiró, a contemporary Anarchist, "it would be both human and natural to destroy him."[1] That Spanish Anarchists of to-day teach atheism to their children we may learn from the *Cartilla filológica*, a child's reading-book which denies the existence of God and the soul's immortality. They parody the Nicene Creed: "I believe in Revolutionary Socialism Almighty, son of Justice and Anarchy," and so on. It is sad to reflect that such blasphemy proceeded from the followers of that youth who had eternal longings in him, and who died rejoicing that, while "everything will pass and the world will perish . . . . . the Ninth Symphony will remain." And all the other negations of Spanish Anarchism, so overwhelming in their total effect, proceed ultimately from the character, environment and experience of the impressionable young rebel who, as he himself put it, wanted "the masses of humanity to be really emancipated from all authorities and from all heroes present and to come." Bakunin was perhaps even less practical and constructive than the Anarchist of to-day. "It is scarcely relevant," remarks Professor Carr, "to speak of his failure to achieve, when the whole idea of achievement was alien to his character and purpose. Reichel once asked him what he would do, if he succeeded in realising all his plans and in creating everything he had dreamed of. 'Then,' he replied, 'I should at once begin to

[1] For exact terminology and context of this remark, see *Catalonia Infelix*, p. 292.

pull down again everything I had made.' Bakunin is one of the completest embodiments in history of the spirit of liberty—the liberty which excludes neither licence nor caprice, which tolerates no human institution, which remains an unrealised and unrealisable ideal, but which is almost universally felt to be an indispensable part of the highest manifestations and aspirations of humanity."

One more observation may be made on this subject, so rich in suggestions. It is well known that from the break between Marx and Bakunin—and the skilful tracing of the slowly widening rift between them is one of this book's achievements—came the fundamental antagonism between authoritarian and anti-authoritarian principles which has been so noticeable in the Spanish Popular Front even during the War. But it may not have been realized that the anti-authoritarian idea has its roots in Bakunin's own character. To him, as to many others who differ radically from him, Communism, in the usually accepted sense, was a form of servitude. And this he asserted long before his quarrel with Marx—in the very days, indeed, when he was still publicly proclaiming his allegiance to the International.

> I hate communion (*sic*) because it is the negation of liberty and because humanity is for me unthinkable without liberty. I am not a communist, because communism concentrates and swallows up in itself for the benefit of the State all the forces of society, because it inevitably leads to the concentration of property in the hands of the State, whereas I want the abolition of the State . . . . . I want to see society and collective or social property organised from below upwards, by way of free association, not from above downwards, by means of any kind of authority whatever. Wishing for the abolition of the State, I wish at the same time for the abolition of personal inherited property, which is nothing more than a State institution, a direct consequence of the principles of the State.

Here are two more—or by implication three—of modern Anarchism's negations. And these, too, issue by direct descent from a revolutionary personality.

There are paradoxes and contradictions, no doubt, in Bakunin's ideas, as there have been in the ideas, aims and acts of his followers. It is surprising to find that this believer in the rulerless State, this apostle of individual liberty, was an admirer of the principles of organisation of the Society of Jesus and desired that members of the secret "Alliance" or "Brotherhood" into which he initiated his intimates should submit their personal freedom to discipline as rigid as that of the Society, and thus secure the "obliteration of the individual before the collective will, organisation and activity." It is difficult to reconcile his demand for a loosely knit organisation in the International and the strictest possible discipline in the Alliance. As Professor Carr well puts it, he does not seem to have reflected "that Marx and the General Council may have considered themselves equally qualified to perform the functions of a general staff and to exercise a 'collective dictatorship' over the forces of revolution."

E. Allison Peers

REVIEWS

Religion

CHRIST AND WOMANKIND. By Dr. Peter Ketter. Translated by Isabel McHugh. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1937. 18s.

ANYONE who is at all familiar with German modes of thought and action knows that the intellectual men and women of that country have, in relation to the problems of the age, the habit of thinking out their minds, of ordering and clarifying their ideas towards a solution of these problems, and of endeavouring to adjust their attitude in accordance with that solution. In a country like Germany, where scientific methods of study have been so long practised and so widely diffused in and through the Universities, there will easily be found groups and individuals available for the study of material and the exposition of results. The woman's question and women's rights constitute perhaps a minor problem—but, at any rate, a problem of the modern world and one with which woman herself above all has to reckon.

In Germany conditions are in many ways peculiar. The pre-war German woman was only very gradually and very unwillingly admitted to academic equality with men, and there was as yet no question of political or municipal rights. But after the catastrophe of 1918, with the advent of universal suffrage, German women invaded public life. Always numerically superior to men, they were still more so after the heavy losses in the field. Widows and girls had now to rely on themselves for support in a world economically ruined. A new form of State was being built up, in which every member was called upon to take part in the work of restoration. Conditions were chaotic or corrupt; the collapse of the old forms and standards in the political or social sphere brought moral collapse as well. Women now stepped into the breach with their practical commonsense in work, with their instinct to serve, with their vocation to mediate and heal. Above and beyond all, they wished to give themselves to the service of their country and of their fellow-men.

A number of women were elected to the Reichstag and to the Provincial Parliaments. They were active also in the municipalities and in the rural districts, whilst the professional and confessional organisations which Germany possessed in such number and variety gave magnificent service to a country occupied by enemy forces and crushed under the moral and economic burdens of the Versailles Treaty. In the records of the Catholic Women's League of Germany, for example, there is all through those terrible years a lofty strain of idealism in thought coupled with a healthy realism in action. Unswerving loyalty to the German dead, service to the living, spiritual motherhood taking over wholesale the duties of physical motherhood

were joined to constructive work based on scientific study and applying scientific methods in its execution. It is no exaggeration to say that some of the best features in the "social" side of National Socialism were anticipated by this Women's League and that moreover, while they were thoroughly national, they were imbued through and through with the spirit of Christ, the Divine and yet Human Model of Social Service. That their work was publicly recognised is shown by the fact that in 1930, the last year for which I have definite figures, this organisation of roughly 200,000 women had twelve members who were Deputies either of the Reichstag or of the Provincial Parliaments.

All this goes to show the very considerable part which the women of Germany were playing in the public service between 1918 and 1930. Many of these women Deputies were married and mothers of large families, and their husbands, sons and daughters were enthusiastic workers in the same cause. In 1933 came the National Socialist Revolution, when the autonomy of women went the way of all other autonomies. The only difference was that women were, in the "idea" at least of womanhood, relegated to "the home," though the working out of that relegation is necessarily slow, causing the minimum of disturbance to industry and commerce and ceasing on occasion when the exigencies of the State so demand. Women still retain the parliamentary vote, but they may not offer themselves for election to the Reichstag. They have their status in the National Socialist system of organisations and groups, but it is their functional capacity rather than their personal value that is put into the forefront of the new scheme of things. That may be a return to nature, but it is undoubtedly also a return to a pagan ideal.

It is no wonder that this element of the problematic, over and above many others which confront the modern man, should vex and trouble the hearts of the thinking women of Germany. One can well imagine that in sodalities, in study circles and in group discussions the relation of man to woman, the theories of the subjection and subordination of the latter to the former, the meaning of the tension which underlies the relations of both and the possibility of the solution of such tension in the Christian dispensation should be a subject of vital interest.

In some such atmosphere was born the idea of Dr. Ketter's interesting book, *Christus und die Frauen*, which appeared in German in 1935 and was translated into English in 1937 under the title *Christ and Womankind*. It is a consoling book for women, and it would well repay study by men also. Dr. Ketter, who is Professor of New Testament Exegetics in Trier, has had many years of experience of women of all classes and all ages in sodalities and study circles. He knows their urge to serve, and he knows too their sense of frustration when they find the scope of their activities more limited than it would

even ordinarily be. His desire, obviously, is to eliminate as much of the problematic as is possible and to clarify the position spiritually in the light of the change which the teaching and example of Christ brought into women's lives.

The theme of the book is that woman has been doubly redeemed by Christ—her soul redeemed from sin and her body and soul from the fetters laid upon them by masculine egotism. The treatment of the theme falls into three parts. Part I deals with the status of woman before Christ in Greece, in Rome, among Teutons and Gauls, in Israel. There are degrees of degradation, but the net result is the same. Woman is the " prisoner " of the home, a home which in many instances has been abandoned by men, to whom it serves only as restaurant by day and lodging by night. Woman is important only in so far as she serves man's purpose; her honour has an assessable value only when it can be translated into terms of a man's right. Amongst the Gauls and Teutons the picture, painted against the background of Roman blackness, is brighter; but slavery and concubinage were recognised features of pagan life, and there was no clear sense of the human dignity or the personal rights of woman. Part II deals with Christ's gifts to and requirements of womankind. The theme of this Part is the recognition of the human personality of woman and the insistence on the order of Love in the relation of the sexes. From this theme flows Christ's doctrine of marriage—its purity, its indissolubility, and the protection and ennoblement of motherhood. From this also flows the woman's as well as the man's right to virginity, not only within but without the cloister. The whole theory of the Lay Apostolate is bound up with this theme. Part III gives the concrete illustration of the redemption process and insists upon the manner in which Christ chose to reveal Himself in the most striking way to women—to the Samaritan, to Mary Magdalen, etc. It deals at length with those parables the images for which were drawn from the daily life and experience of women. Part IV indicates the role played by women in the early spread of Christianity—their presence at the coming of the Holy Ghost, their activities (as deaconesses, teachers in the Church, and in general in the Apostolate) under St. Paul and St. Peter. There is in this concluding part an endeavour to explain the much discussed passages, in St. Paul's Epistles, on subordination and subjection, on silence in the Church, on the wearing of the veil . . . . . These are the pronouncements which are seized on by friends and enemies of the woman's movement to counter or to defend.

Dr. Ketter has done well what he set out to do—namely, to show Christ in his relation to woman. He believes that is the most necessary contribution to the Woman Question. To refer women to Christ is

to help them to a better understanding of His teaching and of their own intrinsic position. Dr. Ketter has, it is quite obvious, a deep sympathy with the Woman's Movement—which, in a striking passage, he defends: "No one denies the necessity which makes intelligent women lead their sisters in an effort to break the shameful fetters with which ages of masculine egotism have bound them. *This campaign is thoroughly Christian and expresses a healthy woman's movement, so long as it is inspired by the spirit of Christ and the desire to make the Redeemer's gifts available to all.*" He states his own point of view with regard to women's rights on a few occasions throughout the book. I could personally wish that he would develop the practical application of his theory at greater length on some other occasion when his main theme did not forbid such an application.

Dr. Ketter emphasises over and over the equality of the person of the woman before God and her equal dignity as a human being. Any tension that might arise from an assertion of identity of rights should be capable of solution in the order of Love in a Christian world. He assigns her equality of status, but he deprecates the confusion of equality with homogeneity, and he asserts the physical and metaphysical differences between her and man—differences which call for different service on her part. When he speaks of *outward* equality and of such equality as being fatal to the dignity of womanhood, it is not clear what exactly he means. The fact that he uses, in that connection, such words as "mannish" and "emancipated" and that he warns against the confusion of liberty and licence shows that his ideas are quite in agreement with those of the most strong-minded "feminists" in this country.

It may be that the folly and the recklessness of some women is a backwash of the woman's movement, but the fact that foolish people have a wrong conception of liberty is not an argument against liberty. It is only a reason for educating women as well as men in the right use of that great gift of Christ. I would warmly commend this book to all thoughtful readers of both sexes. It is excellently documented and well translated and printed. M. M. Macken

L'EGLISE ET L'ETAT. Par Luigi Sturzo. Traduit de l'italien par Juliette Bertrand. Paris: Les Editions Internationales. 1937. 50 frs.

Unlike his *Essai de Sociologie*, which was theological and philosophic, Don Sturzo's new work is mainly historical and sociological. His truly ambitious aim, entailing the labour of several years, has been to present a complete picture of the dualism, in all its manifestations, that has necessarily existed as between Church and State since apostolic days. It is the work not only of a theologian and a student, but of a

priest of political experience and very wide human sympathies, so that in his pages controversies that might easily appear dry and archaic take on a fresh life and are seen in a new perspective. To the ordinary reader the book will probably be a revelation, historically speaking, of the enormous difficulties with which in all centuries the Papacy has had ceaselessly to contend—now with vigour and excommunication and again with prudence and patience. For there could be no permanent basis of agreement amid the ever-changing political and social conditions of growing nationalities and the varying ideologies of races; often it has had to be a case of diplomatic adaptation and waiting for more favourable times.

Although from reasons of space Don Sturzo is compelled to pass very rapidly over the early Christian centuries, he gives us an illuminating sketch of the simultaneous growth of the Byzantine type of ecclesiastical organisation on the one hand and of the Latin on the other. One notes how the special characteristics of the Eastern churches, with their organic unity closely interwoven with that of the State, have survived to this day—with the result that when the Empire falls, the Church falls likewise, as in Russia recently. In the West, on the contrary, Don Sturzo shews how the organic unity of the Church of Rome remained purely ecclesiastical, however much the Holy See granted specific rights of interference to sovereigns in the appointment of bishops, so that the power of the keys came to be recognised as quite distinct from the power of the sword and Canon Law slowly took shape.

Behind the violent conflicts of the Middle Ages Don Sturzo traces the beginnings of all those forces—economic, national, heretical—which were ultimately to transform medieval Europe into the autonomous lay States of to-day. He refutes the common assumption that the Humanism of the fifteenth century was in revolt against all that had gone before, and protests against both those who ignore the Middle Ages entirely, grafting the Humanist spirit directly on Greco-Roman culture, and those numerous Catholic apologists who unreasonably exalt the Middle Ages as the perfect exemplar of the Christian life. Yet treating with wide sympathy of the terrible peasants' revolts, he shews how closely connected they were with the teaching of the popular preachers—which often, as in the case of Wyclif and Huss, ended in heresy; for, the whole social structure having a religious basis, all movements, even of economic reform, had religious repercussions. It is good to be reminded also that behind all the often unedifying state of conflict and intrigue between Church and State there persisted the never-ending succession of Saints and great founders of religious orders to preserve and renew the spiritual life of the Church, and never more conspicuously than in the decades of the counter-reformation.

As an example of the general utility of the book one may quote the vivid chapter on the Council of Trent, summing up both where and how it failed and what it accomplished in the face of tremendous obstacles. Naturally among the events of the eighteenth century the suppression of the Society of Jesus finds a place, and the author considers judiciously the events that led up to it: the combined hostility of ruling princes, of Jansenists, of philosophers—who, for a variety of reasons, were united in this one aim. It was the penalty of amazing success resented by a world which was breaking loose from ecclesiastical restraints; and if, as Don Sturzo points out, the suppression for the Jesuits was a trial and a purification, for the Papacy it was a humiliation with no compensating results.

Coming to more recent times, the author is less able to disguise on which side his sympathies lie. The French Revolution, a fatal blow to European absolutism, was not so much a break with the past as the historic outcome of the *ancien régime*. The new thing that was ultimately to emerge was the lay State, with which the Holy See was to conclude the first Concordat of a modern type. A natural development was to be the State school, a permanent cause of controversy between Rome and the European governments. The loss of the Temporal Power, regarded by most Catholics at the time as a tragic disaster, has, in effect, enormously raised the spiritual power of the Papacy throughout the world. Don Sturzo sadly accepts the Totalitarian State as the logical development of the lay State by the progressive elimination of all individual freedom and the absence of any spiritual basis. For him the Italo-Abyssinian war has revealed a moral crisis without precedent, and the fragile construction of an international understanding has collapsed owing to the moral weakness of the European nations. In the materialistic desolation of Europe to-day it is the Church alone, by resolutely upholding the values of human personality as against the presumptuous conception of the super-state and by an intensification of the religious vitality of the faithful, that can give peace to the world through the restoration to Church and State of the rhythm of a social duality and a spiritual unification. V. M. C.

DAS LEBEN MARIAS DER MUTTER JESU. Von Franz Michel Willam. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder. 1936. M.6.40.

This new life of The Blessed Virgin Mother of God is, as it were, a pendant to the same author's "Life of Jesus in the Land and the People of Israel" which appeared in the year 1932 and has already been translated into ten languages (including Japanese). It is illustrated with many pictures from photographs taken by the author himself in the holy places. Those pictures give a very vivid idea of the

primitive modes of living and of the domestic framework within which Our Blessed Mother's life was passed. The author has been able to make use in his narrative of the extensive first-hand materials on life in the East and especially in Palestine which are now accessible to scholars. This is a welcome change from the false beauties and the artificialities with which sentimentally minded writers and painters of bygone periods were accustomed to surround the daily life of toil of the simple members of The Holy Family in a primitive oriental community.

The narrative section of the life starts with the Annunciation, proceeding strictly according to the Gospels, but filling in a rich background with material drawn from non-biblical sources also. It ends with the life of Mary in the young Church and with references from early Christian writers and from drawings and paintings in the Catacombs and elsewhere to show the veneration for the Virgin Mother as Co-Redeemer from the very earliest days of the Propagation of the Faith. The style is throughout uniformly simple, and the psychological insight into the mind and soul of the Virgin Mother, during the period of the hidden life and of the ministry of Christ, is subtle and profound. Particularly interesting is the way in which Dr. Willam weaves the texture of Psalms and Prophecies into the story to illustrate the moods of reflection and meditation of that unique and yet human mother contemplating the daily life of her Son. Specially attractive to the student of folklife and customs is the manner in which the author sets his characters in the rich setting of a period and of a people whose writings in the Old Testament are the stuff of which so much good poetry is made. A striking illustration of this is the dirge for the death of Christ which the Syrian saint and poet of the 4th cent. A.D., Ephrem, puts into the mouth of the Blessed Virgin and from which fine passages are quoted.

All through this finely constructed and imaginatively conceived work the author interests us by his consistent and reverent blending of natural and supernatural, human and divine. The book will certainly be translated. The German version is excellently printed and produced.

MARY M. MACKEN

Biography

SAINT AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO. By the Very Rev. Fr. Hugh Pope, O.P. London: Sands. 1937. 12s. 6d. net.

PILGRIMS WERE THEY ALL. By Dorothy Brooke. London: Faber and Faber. 1937. 12s. 6d. net.

IT is already seven years since the fifteenth centenary of St. Augustine's death was celebrated with a remarkable output of literature. Father Pope's book comes as a valuable complement to the *Monument To*

St. Augustine, published in 1930 by Sheed and Ward, and to its French and German congeners. It says much for the vastness and manysidedness of the Saint's work and significance that this solid volume of nearly four hundred pages can include within its scope only a small part of his activity. Whereas the centenary publications dealt largely with his doctrine and place in the history of philosophical and theological thought, Father Pope does valuable service, especially to the general reader, by concentrating rather on his personality, his social and religious background, and his relations with contemporaries, both friends and foes. No better book could be found to put into the hands of a beginner in the study of the Saint. Though without pretensions to literary style, the interest of its subject and the completeness of its information are warranted to hold the reader's attention from the first page.

Father Pope very wisely begins with two full chapters on Roman and Christian Africa, which are rendered all the more useful by the four excellent maps at the end of the book. He gives us a vivid idea of these intensely lively urban communities, the ruins of whose dwelling-places still dot the desert made by Vandals and Arabs. Africa, until its conquest by Gaiseric, was the most active Christian province of the Latin West, and even before Augustine it had contributed powerfully to the making of a Christian Latin tradition. By the beginning of the fifth century it contained at least three hundred orthodox bishoprics, besides an equal number of schismatic sees. Indeed the number of African bishops was felt to be an anomaly, so that in 393 it was seriously proposed that no less than twelve of them should be required to make future consecrations valid. The country was polyglot, only lightly Latinised, still full of outlandish pagan practices inherited from ancient Libyan or Punic ancestors ; its people were voluble, excitable, unsteady, torn with heresy and schism, and yet it produced three Doctors of the Church and a multitude of saints and martyrs.

From Father Pope we learn of its earnest religious life, the ritual in which so many forms still in regular use were beginning to crystallise, the people's passion for long sermons and strange combination of comparative ignorance with a capacity to understand the most subtle argument. Having given us the background thus solidly, he traces for us the life of Augustine, almost writing a running commentary on the biographical part of the *Confessions*, sketching the careers of all the Saint's important friends in Africa, and filling in with a generous amount of detail the Saint's personal character and habits. Father Pope's learning is truly prodigious, and he has ransacked every possible source that could contribute information. The central part of the book consists of three full chapters on Augustine as preacher, letter-writer, and student of nature, in which perhaps the most interesting

single theme is that of the Saint's trouble—arising largely from misunderstanding—and eventual reconciliation with the touchy St. Jerome.

Probably most discussion will be aroused by the third and final section of the book, the two chapters entitled " The Crime of Schism " and " Rex Pacificus, or The Model of Tolerance." After a brief but clear and well-designed account of the Donatists, in which the fatal role of Julian the Apostate as reviver of a dying schism is significantly emphasised, we pass to the still debated question of St. Augustine's attitude to religious persecution. Father Pope quotes extensively from the many modern writers who consider him, with his formula " compelle intrare," as the great originator of what many of them seem to regard almost as the essence of Catholicity—forced submission, leading inevitably through the centuries to the horrors of the Inquisition. In all this condemnation there is a great deal of playing at cross-purposes. Undoubtedly conclusions were later drawn from St. Augustine's teaching, and not merely in relation to persecution, at which he would himself have been shocked. Father Pope makes a great effort to show that his views were all along consistent, and does succeed in proving that he was not at all the monster of callousness and duplicity into which Lea, for example, has turned him in spite of the evidence. But there is really no necessity to over-emphasise his consistency. After all, he was dealing with an appallingly difficult concrete situation, in which there was nothing to be said for his opponents; and the whole history of the Church's later attitude to persecution has been absurdly travestied for propagandist purposes by writers who are prepared to treat every anti-social firebrand as a martyr. The book ends fittingly with a valuable complete bibliography of St. Augustine's works.

Lady Brooke has followed in the footsteps of Miss Helen Waddell with her series of " studies in religious adventure in the fourth century of our era." She has far more skill and charm as a writer than Father Pope, and her book may be said to be a great success in the technical sense of the word. Her learning also is abundant and varied. She never misses a picturesque detail or an apt illustration, and the reader is carried along easily by the smooth grace of her style. Yet there is missing just the one requisite for complete and final excellence, the presence of which might have made her book truly memorable. She lacks sympathy with her subject, and indeed it is often hard to blame her, for these Egyptian hermits, obstinate and equivocal heresiarchs, and rhetorical saints in quest so paradoxically of a quiet life, were angular creatures enough. Sympathy is sometimes difficult, but Lady Brooke, in her effort to be picturesque, lapses too frequently into mere cynicism, and her whole subject is always slightly distorted by

the prejudice which looks on all religion as an extravagant, if not absurd, substitute for ethics. Thus, although she grasps the fact that the European monasteries, to which we owe all our opportunities for being superior, were the product of those odd old men in the Egyptian desert, she prefers to smile at the hermits because simple people told naive stories about them. Pelagius, whose teaching Duchesne rightly calls "conventional popular morality devoid of religious quality," becomes for her, following Bury, an apostle of free will, and Augustine a fanatic perverted by his own early excesses, which, however, "setting apart one or two incidents which disturb a modern conscience more than they did his," were really nothing out of the ordinary. Gregory of Nazianzus, in her pages, is a figure of fun, Basil a self-centred autocrat, and Gregory of Nyssa merely absurd. Indeed it may be said that the only character in her whole gallery for whom she has any real liking is the half-fabulous Etheria or Egeria, whose *Peregrinatio* she admires for its combination of feminine curiosity with emotional detachment—qualities to be found more easily in the psychology of a modern woman novelist than in the saints of the fourth century.

M. T.

HOMMES D'ETAT. Paraissant sous la Direction de A. B. Duff et F. Galy. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer. 1936. Three volumes. 150 fr.

These three stately volumes, uncommonly well-bound and printed in a type which is large and clear if a little inclined to blot, are a French counterpart to the Austrian work *Menschen, die Geschichte Machten*, which was published a few years ago. As with their predecessor, their object is to present the public, now more interested in statesmen and their doings than perhaps ever before, with studies by expert enquirers on the great men of the past. The difference between the two works is that while both are unbiased and objective, the Austrian one aims at comparative completeness, and thus constitutes almost a continuous world-history, in the form of biographies, from the earliest times. The present series of essays, on the other hand, while individually more elaborate, seems to have been collected on no particular principle at all; for far more great statesmen have been omitted than included, and no attempt is made to coordinate the views of the different writers. In a sense this adds to the interest of the work, whose treatment varies from sober and conscientious history of the scientific kind to warm admiration or epigrammatic and ironical character-drawing.

The editors are two young historians, one of whom, M. Duff, himself contributes an able, cool, and far from heroic portrait of the Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, while Professor Lucien Febvre, of the Collège de France, wrestles in a postscript with the everlasting problem

of the statesman's relation to his time, and again comes to conclusions not at all in line with Carlyle's teaching. Perhaps it is owing to the modern excess of documentation, which renders judgment so precarious, that this modern historian differs so strikingly from M. Chapot, who opens the first volume with a thoroughly competent reconstruction of the career of Philip of Macedon. M. Febvre questions whether the admiration accorded to Philip, on ancient testimony, is not more an act of faith than an act of the reason, and tends himself to the conclusion that great men are at least as much the creatures as the creators of history. Fortunately the great majority of his collaborators do not share this rather nihilistic view.

It is curious to read a work of this magnitude on such a subject containing no essay on Pericles, Caesar, Augustus, Charlemagne, Richelieu, Napoleon, or Bismarck, to name only a few of the more conspicuous omissions. Beginning with Philip of Macedon, the first volume goes straight on to Gaius Gracchus, very sympathetically described by M. Oltramare, to Sulla, treated in more business-like fashion by M. Homo, and to Constantine, on whom M. Palanque gives us one of the best studies in the whole work, well worthy to take its place beside Schwartz and Baynes. From Constantine to Theoderic the step is comparatively short in time but enormous in quality, and neither M. Rey's brief sketch of the latter nor M. Tafrali's panegyric on Nicephorus Phocas, which follows it, are on the same level as the earlier part of the volume.

With the second volume we are already drawing near the end of the Middle Ages as we commence with Frederick II. There follow two particularly interesting essays on Saint Louis and Louis XI, by M. F. Olivier-Martin and M. Calmette. By some error, Michel de L' Hopital, Chancellor of France from 1560-73, is given precedence over Lorenzo the Magnificent, who died in 1492. Perhaps the most striking study in this volume is Dr. Rafael Altamira's masterly discussion of Philip II of Spain, with which it concludes. The only statesman of the pre-revolutionary XVIIIth century included is Catherine the Great, of whom M. Milioukov, former Russian foreign minister, paints a very favourable portrait. From her the third volume goes on to Danton, described by a warm sympathiser, and Metternich, in whose case M. André Robert presents to French readers the results of Professor Heinrich von Srbik's recent imposing revaluation. I should be inclined to consider this, with M. Palanque's Constantine, as the finest in the whole series of essays. Not only does it include a critical, if approving, survey of Metternich's policies and a clear restatement of his political philosophy which is of high value and actuality, but a brief history of his fortune at the hands of later writers which forms a truly instructive record of aberration. After Metternich,

the essays on Cavour, Thiers, and Disraeli, the last by MM. André and Daniel Toledano, are inevitably somewhat of an anticlimax. The book is illustrated with an interesting series of plates, in which, however, the inking is often a little too much for the paper. M. T.

RICHARD PORSON. By M. L. Clarke. Cambridge: University Press. 1937. 6s. net.

Richard Porson stands second only to his namesake, Richard Bentley, in the line of great English classical scholars. Both were Cambridge men, and it is appropriate that we should now have Mr. Clarke's Life of Porson to set side by side with that of Bentley by the Cambridge Professor, Sir Richard Jebb, which appeared in the *English Men of Letters* series nearly eighty years ago. Jebb also wrote the article on Porson in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which until now formed almost the only accessible supplement to vague legends about a name connected by generations of schoolboys and undergraduates with toddy and with a peculiar rule of Greek metrics. Probably many more had heard of these things than were aware of the fact that Porson was the originator of the Greek cursive hand still in use in these countries, which took the place of the beautiful but less legible eighteenth-century script with its many contractions inherited from Byzantine copyists.

Mr. Clarke follows the spare and drastic standard set by the biographer of Housman. He gives us only the minimum of detail and leaves us vainly asking for more. His subject, indeed, is not one on which detailed information is easy to supply. Porson combined surpassing textual scholarship and a genius for emendation with personal tastes and foibles which were anything but attractive. His thirst and his means of satisfying it were no less prodigious than his memory. When he was appointed Regius Professor of Greek in 1792, the only layman to hold the post between the sixteenth century and the election of Jebb in 1889, he was already embittered by a quarrel with Dr. Postlethwaite, Master of Trinity, and whether for that or for some other reason seems never to have lectured. His residence, though he had rooms in the University, was henceforth chiefly in London, where he led a life that would have made him a fitting friend and subject for Dr. Johnson more than a generation earlier. In politics and religion he was an adherent of what would now be called the Left wing, and his want of orthodoxy may have helped to make him less acceptable in learned society—if anything more than his nature was needed.

His great powers as a scholar were shown in his editions of four plays of Euripides; an Aeschylus which he prepared only made its appearance in a pirated form, and his work otherwise consisted of brief notes and adversaria, collected by his disciples after his death. The

curious thing is that, in spite of his repellent life, he exerted a profound influence on English scholarship, and that his tradition remained dominant in Cambridge and the schools it supplied with teachers down to the time of Jebb and even later. It was a tradition of purely textual virtuosity; he seems to have had very little capacity for literary criticism, which perhaps explains how the ideas of Verrall, for example, so long afterwards, on literary questions were so extremely odd, and why even the admirable Jebb leaves a good deal to be desired in this respect. Mr. Clarke gives us some striking examples of his powers in emendation, and of this little book in general we may gratefully repeat that it errs only in not giving us enough. M. T.

Celtica

CINNLAE AMHLAOIBH UI SHUILEABHAIN. The Diary of Humphrey O'Sullivan. Part IV. Edited by Rev. Michael McGrath, S.I. Published for the Irish Texts Society by the Educational Co. of Ireland. 1937. 16s.

WITH the publication in this volume of the entries for the years 1834-1835, Fr. McGrath brings to an end the diary of O'Sullivan. O'Sullivan's interest in recording the events of his daily life cooled off very much in these two years. By far the greater bulk of the entries is taken up with descriptions of the weather. No mention whatever is made of his school, and very few happenings of political or economic interest are noted. Faction-fighting troubled "Callan of the Wranglings" during these years. On more than one occasion he mentions the "Shanavests" and the "Caravats," and remarks of them: "If these factions are not suppressed, there will be murder between them" (p. 9). An interesting entry is that on Ascension Thursday 1835, where he speaks of a cricket match on the Fair Green. His description (p. 91) points to the present game: "cricket, *i.e.* English driving with a bat and a ball which is thrown by hand through a wicket ('geatín'), to knock it down if possible, but the wicket is defended by the batsman ('fear an bhata')." But he does not tell us that, being a "foreign" game, it was frowned upon. The diary concludes on July 31st 1835 with the characteristic entry: "Much like yesterday."

The greater part of the volume is taken up with miscellaneous works of O'Sullivan's. There is a speech of his, delivered during the agitation for Catholic Emancipation, which gives a curious insight into the national ideals current, presumably, while he wrote. Nothing very much of Tone's "break the connection" about them. Then come two prose pieces: the first—"The Pursuit of Calmar"—a semi-historical tale, the other a series of loosely connected sketches which, the editor surmises, were meant as material for a long tale. Though not of high literary worth, they contain some interesting contemporary

details, such as the vivid picture (p. 210) of the ruin of the forty-shilling freeholders and a native view of the hedge-schools which is worth quoting. "There are plenty of schools. Not a bush out of which you might rouse a doe, but you might also rouse a schoolmaster out of it. They pass a week in this wood and a week in that defile. From there they go in winter to a hedgerow on the sunny side of a wood where they usually have a hut like a sheep shelter; and mean though they seem, some of the teachers are more learned in Greek, Latin and in every branch of secular knowledge now than of yore" (p. 263).

The editor admits the style of these pieces to be "in the adjectival and alliterative tradition of his predecessors." This is not the place to enter on a criticism of such a style, but I should like to protest against the implication in Fr. McGrath's statement (p. xii) that strictures on this style "have come from writers whose canons of criticism have been imbibed with an alien culture." Surely Fr. McGrath will admit that there are at least some principles of style common to all literatures? Nor does his further defence of the "adjectival" style seem more cogent. He says that "each adjective, expanded, would entail a sentence," and so Irish literature exhibits a "condensation of thought equalled perhaps in no other literature." Would a style which allowed five or six descriptive sentences to each and every noun be considered good in any language?

Next come a few poems of the author's. In spite of the fact that the language is rather stilted and the metre none of the best, the poems do show O'Sullivan as alive to the beauty of the world and as possessing some, at least, of the poet's gift of translating that beauty into words. The best of them is the tender "Mother's Lament for her drowned daughter." In a note subjoined to another poem we come across a reference to Irish books which the author had lent to a friend. Whether or not these are manuscripts is not clear. At any rate, this is the only indication we have of O'Sullivan's interest in written Irish literature.

Fr. McGrath has done a very good service to Irish lexicography by the publication of O'Sullivan's various vocabularies. The most useful, without doubt, is that on plants and herbs. This consists not only of the names mentioned by O'Sullivan in his diary, but also of a further list compiled by that indefatigable worker and contained in another manuscript in the Royal Irish Academy. Little has been done in this branch, as Fr. McGrath has pointed out, particularly in the matter of collecting plant names from those parts of the country where Irish is still spoken. In the meantime, this collection will be of the greatest assistance, representing as it does the work of a man who interested himself very much in the identification and classification of Irish plant names.

A critical survey of O'Sullivan's writings would err if the circumstances of the author and the cultural state of the country were not considered. Here we have a small town shopkeeper and small farmer who, for some portion of his life at any rate, was also a schoolmaster. He does not seem to have been too well off, and he had a large family to bring up. He lived in a period when, as he himself clearly recognised, Irish as a spoken language was fast dying, and the national spirit, as a consequence of the disenfranchisement of the forty shilling freeholders, was at a very low ebb. The production of original Irish literature had practically ceased, and contemporary scholars like the members of the Ó Longáin and Ó Réagáin families of Cork were confining themselves to transcription of manuscripts. O'Sullivan alone had both courage and endurance to persist for seven years, day in day out, in recording in this dying language what, for him, were the small happenings of the day. For us his work is unique. Nowhere else have we such an intimate picture of ordinary life in the "hidden Ireland." That, I think is the true value of O'Sullivan's work, and both Fr. McGrath and the Irish Texts Society deserve our thanks for having made it available to us. S. Ó D.

Education

A HUMANE PSYCHOLOGY OF EDUCATION. By Jaime Castiello, S.J., Ph.D. (Bonn). London: Sheed and Ward. 1937. Pp. 277. 7s. 6d. net.

SEX PSYCHOLOGY IN EDUCATION. By Dr. Rudolph Allers. Translated by Rev. Dr. Sidney A. Raemers. London: Herder. 1937. Pp. 294. 10s. 6d.

WHILE the wide domain of Psychology is by no means fully covered by these two constructive surveys and while they have only a small area of common exploration, they are both firmly based on European tradition, philosophical and cultural. Both volumes, again, are concerned with the educative period especially, though this useful English version of Dr. Allers' work, well carried out by Dr. S. A. Raemers, in many places travels beyond it into mature life. Educators will find many of his short chapters highly serviceable for the formative understanding of youthful Personality, and its treatment in respect of Modesty, Imagination, Individual Characteristics, Self-Respect, and Advisory Conference, substantially helpful. At the same time, this well-planned account always keeps too faithfully to general statements, general even when limited or exceptional, to be fully practical for the working teacher. With the candour of a really expert writer, Dr. Allers, we take particular note, feels at times the duty of avowal that "some points are not yet entirely clear to our minds" (p. 165). No

wonder that his studies command the confidence of professional students.

Dr. Castiello, a Mexican scholar of wide education in European countries, deals freshly and in quite vivid English with many of the main factors in formal intellectual and aesthetic education. An opening section on matter and thought gives him due opportunity of utilising his special lines of investigation at Bonn concerning the whole nature of what is attempted in "mental measurement," and leads to an analysis of what, in a broad or general sense, he terms creative processes in the work of education. A third section, on "the making of the self," moral as well as intellectual and organic, stresses the dominion of reason, a most useful factor in this really directive book. The following chapters will be found of great service at the later stages of general education. They concentrate on the Renaissance tradition, and could be appositely supplemented on the scientific and professional departments in a complete liberal education, for which literary and aesthetic formation is the introductory process only. The addition of classified topics for discussion is a notable service to candidates for teaching duties. T. C.

THE CHARITY SCHOOL MOVEMENT. By Mary Gwladys Jones, M.A. Cambridge: University Press. 1938. Pp. 479. 21s.

Miss Jones, who is Fellow of Girton College and Lecturer in History in the University of Cambridge, has made excellent use of a large and unexplored mass of documents concerning the Charity School system in England and Scotland, available at the London office of the parent society of that constructive effort initiated by Anglican forces at the opening of the 18th century. It had, of course, to walk warily in Calvinist Scotland, where another church system dominated; but in Wales and in Ireland it was freer to develop its activities, as it pleased, along the lines of English action through State and Church. A fair amount of attention had previously been called out concerning Wales, and yet more as to Ireland; but to all users of the history of popular education as a professional subject this comprehensive survey of the action of Puritanism and Protestantism in the four nations will be of great and permanent value. Well documented, well illustrated, and well balanced both as to allotted space and as to impartiality of outlook, the entire exposition is a convincing lesson in the right treatment of a professional study that is deeply rooted in social history and in the cultural attitudes of a ruling class towards what it held to be "the lower orders." The substantial section on Ireland, 1700 to 1830, is remarkably complete, extending down to the most recent investigations of 1932-1935, and is amply forthright in its firm views. T. C.

History

GLANEROUGHT AND THE PETTY-FITZMAURICES. By the Marquis of Lansdowne. Oxford University Press. 1937. 15s.

HENRY PETTY-FITZMAURICE, 6th Marquis of Lansdowne and 27th Lord of Kerry, died in 1936. By those who lived under him as landlord on his Kerry estate he was respected as a just and kindly man, and to his intimate friends in England and Ireland he had endeared himself by the personal qualities described in a memoir by Lord Hugh Cecil prefixed to the book under review. To many who never came into direct contact with him Lord Lansdowne is known by his literary researches on "Johnson and Queeney," by short historical studies of various estates and persons connected with his family, and finally by the present book on *Glanerought and the Petty-Fitzmaurices*, completed by him in manuscript only a few weeks before he died. In his Introduction (p. xix) Lord Lansdowne has written:—

> Moved by a desire to learn more about a county in which I had passed many happy days, I began some years ago to explore the papers relating to the Kerry estates which have been preserved amongst our family archives. The notes I then made, together with some stories collected orally or from printed works, are embodied in this volume, to which, in order to bring it up to date, I have now added a final chapter.
>
> My documents, being of family origin throughout, necessarily emphasize the personal reactions of the various Petty-Fitzmaurices who, during the last three centuries, have been called upon to administer their Kerry estate. It is, however, as a story of the district, rather than of those in whose hands its control happened for the time being to rest, that I have compiled these pages. Private records have been less carefully preserved in Ireland than in England, and our public records are now, alas, no more. I therefore make no apology for printing, such as they are, these "footnotes" to the history of South Kerry.

As "footnotes," then, these pages are to be judged, and as such they are wholly admirable, full of accurately presented information drawn from documents not readily available to research-workers and completely unknown to the general public. Kerrymen interested in the history of their county, and Irishmen interested in the more general question of how the fortunes of a Cromwellian family were founded and how they progressed, will read this book with pleasure and profit.

The student of economics will find material in these "footnotes" for a study of the economic history of Ireland from the seventeenth century on. Irish politics, too, as is to be expected, are mentioned in many pages. Of the existence of both these objects of study, and of their importance, Lord Lansdowne was clearly aware. He was aware also of the importance of the study of the origin and growth of local families and of local economic and administrational units. There is one object of study, however, which scarcely receives formal mention in this book, and the importance of which seems to have escaped the notice of the author, who nevertheless has all through his book supplied material which may be used by those interested in it. That neglected object of study is the native culture of the people

among whom the Pettys settled, and more particularly the clash of two cultures, Gaelic-Catholic and English-Protestant, which the Petty settlement brought about.

In that clash of cultures Lord Lansdowne's ancestors represented what was best on the English-Protestant side. With the interests of their tenantry at heart probably next after their own personal interest, they made it their policy firstly to encourage trade, industry, and thrift in those under their control; secondly to settle a number of Protestants on their estates, who would share the landlord's ideals and cooperate with him; thirdly to do away with the remnants of the Gaelic aristocracy, who had sunk to the rank of big sub-letting tenants, on the grounds that they were middlemen and a burden on the farmers; fourthly by education, example, and persuasion to wean their tenantry from vices such as drunkenness, from doubtful practices such as spending money on "a dancing school at three shillings a quarter" (p. 75), and from bothering themselves with "bog Latin" when it would be better for them to "be hammering at the anvil" (p. 90).[1]

The people of Kerry at first paid little heed to these attempts to alter their way of life, and the Pettys (later the Petty-Fitzmaurices) seem to have seen in their attitude a merely negative refusal of the offered perfection. To look upon it as a positive preference for a richer pattern of life does not seem to have occurred to them. To Lord Lansdowne's ancestors, for instance, Mac Fineen Duff was an unruly middleman oppressing the farmers and fishermen beneath him. Very different was the native Kerryman's view of him, and as that view is difficult to get and impossible to understand without a knowledge of the Irish language and literature, it is not surprising that English-bred landlords should have been unaware of it. To the native Gaelic-speaking Kerryman Mac Fínghin Dubh was not just a burdensome middleman, but a patron of poets and a lord who, following old custom, would invite a poor fisherman such as Diarmuid na Bolgaighe to dine at his table with the gentry because Diarmuid was a poet.[2] He may have oppressed the farmer with rent, but he gave the farmer something in return: he gave him poetry; he gave him gaiety and a sort of primitive magnificence; he gave him jovial talk and human fellowship in the field and by the fishing nets; he prayed with him in the chapel and offered his house as a place of refuge for the priest; he encouraged and sympathised with the hedge schoolmaster and doubtless understood that the Irish dancing school, regarded as a disordered extravagance by Lord Shelburne's agent Taylor, was inextricably connected with the whole ordered pattern of Gaelic social life. In a word Mac Fínghin

[1] The objection to dancing schools and bog Latin comes from an agent, Taylor, not from the landlord himself.

[2] Seán Ó Súilleabháin, *Diarmuid na Bolgaighe agus a Chómhursain*, p. 15.

Dubh was the centre and fundament of that society in which the Gaelic farmer of that district then moved and in which he found his human and spiritual development. The Petty-Fitzmaurices, on the other hand—because they were Protestants, knew no Irish, and lacked the Gaelic gift of talking to a tenant as one talks to a man of one's own class—were unable to give what Mac Fínghin could give. Of the religious difference that divided them from their tenantry the Petty-Fitzmaurices were conscious, and it troubled them. That the dancing, the poetry, the singing, the joviality, the love of learning, the good conversation, the human fellowship, and the free intercourse of classes, which typified Gaelic civilization, were worthy of attention does not seem to have struck them. Indeed, of this side of Gaelic life only the grosser elements seem to have come to their notice. That Mac Fínghin Dubh, for instance, gave his guests neat whiskey to drink was known to them (p. 168). That poets sang of this well-meant weakness in fascinating Gaelic verse [1] where laughter and praise, extravagance and dignity, friendliness and rebuke are mingled, was unknown to them. Unknown to them too was the often voiced Gaelic defence of such drinking: that it promotes song, poetry and joviality, and permits a man to show his generosity and carelessness of expense where honouring a friend is concerned.

By reading Lord Lansdowne's carefully compiled volume in conjunction with books such as Seán Ó Súilleabháin's *Diarmuid na Bolgaighe agus a Chómhursain* we may form for ourselves a picture of some of the circumstances and results of that clash of cultures in eighteenth century Kerry. It was fated that neither culture should live on integrally in this country. It will be for future historians to decide what part each of them has played in moulding the new Ireland, in which, as member of the first Senate of the Irish Free State, Lord Lansdowne took a keen and practical interest. G. M.

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF CORK CITY. By William O'Sullivan, M.A. Cork University Press; Educational Co. of Ireland; Longmans. 1937. 10s. 6d.

THIS book, which deals with the economic history of Cork up to the Act of Union, was long overdue. There is in fact only one such history of any value in existence—that of Smith—which was published as long ago as 1750, and reprinted in recent years by the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society. Mr. O'Sullivan's task has not been an easy one; for, quite apart from the ordinary difficulties which beset an Irish historian, he has been hampered by the fact that all the Cork city archives were destroyed when the Cork City Hall was burnt in

[1] Seán Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN, *l.c.*, p. 180.

December 1920. The official correspondence, which was another valuable source, met with a similar fate two years later. Mr. O'Sullivan has, however, been successful in filling up many of the blanks, and his book is a scholarly and painstaking achievement.

The foundation of Cork was not a definite event—like Topsy, it just " growed." St. Finn-Barr founded his monastery. The Norsemen, coming up the river as far as they could in their long boats, whose draught was unfortunately shallow, founded a settlement, and the natural course of development did the rest. A great natural harbour facing towards the Continent of Europe was obviously destined to be the site for a city of importance—and Cork was the result. The enterprise of its citizens, particularly in the early nineteenth century, did the rest. But the development of Cork was really due to its successive invaders. Danish, Norman, Elizabethan, and Georgian adventurers all contributed their quota to our life blood and development —becoming eventually, under the influence of the kindly climate and intermarriage, more Irish than the Irish themselves. Indeed it is only during the last two hundred years that the mere Irish have begun to occupy positions of importance in our civic life, as any perusal of the names of former mayors of Cork will quickly prove.

Mr. O'Sullivan tells the amazing story of the city's growth in great detail and promises us a second volume to complete the story in due course. He shows that it was on the sure foundation of the provision trade that Cork's fortunes waxed and waned, and this is still true to-day. If Cork merchants read his book, as we hope they will, they will learn from past history that, whatever industrial development may take place in Ireland, the basis of the prosperity of Cork is, and will remain, its agricultural export trade to Great Britain. Mr. O'Sullivan has devoted special attention to the history of the Cork Butter Market, whose archives he was fortunate enough to unearth, but whose importance he is inclined to exaggerate. It was hardly one of the most important organisations that ever existed (p. 256). On the whole his book is inclined to be somewhat diffuse and uninspiring in style. It somehow lacks colour and one suspects that the trees rather interfered with his view of the wood. Some things are given at great length which are of small interest, and other things of interest omitted—for instance, the signatures to the Rules of the Cork Butter Market made in 1837. The maps are also in most cases much too small, and some of them almost impossible to decipher without a magnifying glass. This is a great pity, as they are well chosen and very valuable in studying the growth of the city. The map opposite page 93 seems to be two hundred years in advance of the letterpress adjacent.

When Mr. O'Sullivan completes his work, he should prepare a

short, popular and more vivid version of Cork history for use in our schools, where there is apparently a complete lack of interest in such vital matters. The best way to teach history and geography is from within outwards. On the whole, however, we may congratulate Mr. O'Sullivan and Cork University College on a competent piece of work which makes us all their debtors, and which proves that its staff are ready and willing to apply the fruits of their scholarship and research to the service of the community in which they live.

JOHN J. HORGAN

VIRGILIO NEL MEDIO EVO. Studi Medievali : tomo V. Turin : Chiantore. 1932 (1937).

SEVEN years have gone by since Italy celebrated the bi-millenary of her greatest poet. In 1929 a group of medievalists formed a committee with a view to producing a volume of studies in honour of the poet who, more than any other classical author, stood for the classical tradition in the schools of the Middle Ages. The volume has been delayed for many years, and has at last been published with a fictitious date, 1932—Anno X of the Fascist era. Let us not quarrel with the editors, for they have given us a book that was worth waiting for.

Seventy years ago an Italian scholar, Domenico Comparetti, published a book which is still the standard work on Virgil in the Middle Ages. The editor of this new volume, who heard Comparetti lecture in Rome, opens the volume with a brilliant essay of more than forty pages, in which he gathers together all that modern research has been able to add to Comparetti's abundant literature. Papyri from Egypt and *graffiti* from Pompeii have yielded texts which bring us straight into the class-rooms of the Greco-Roman world ; and the recent work of excavation in the heart of Rome has unearthed the site of a school (so it would seem) with walls on which the young scholars of the day have scribbled snatches of Virgilian verse and the names of Virgil's heroes and heroines. On one point, Signor Vincenzo Ussani has been able to correct a serious error in Comparetti's story. Virgil the wizard is not a figment of the medieval mind, nor are the first traces of this grotesque legend to be found, as Comparetti held, in Naples, where the poet lay buried. That strange Africano-Roman writer, Appuleius, quotes lessons in magic from Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Eneid*, which show us that the legend was already being formed round Virgil's name in the second century. Many other curious additions to Comparetti's story will be found in this first essay, which does credit to the Italian scholarship of which *Virgilio nel Medio Evo* was so noble a monument.

The thirty-five contributors to this volume come from many lands, though Italy (as is but right) takes pride of place. M. Emile Mâle

writes of Virgilian legends as illustrated by medieval French sculptures: his account of the figures on the tomb of Philippe de Commynes is particularly interesting. M. Pierre de Nolhac contributes an enthusiastic essay on Virgil and Petrarch, based on his own researches among the surviving glosses, in Petrarch's own hand, on the margins of the books which were once in the poet's library and are now in the Ambrosiana at Milan. Christian Huelsen gives a full account of the various representations of Virgil in the monuments of medieval Rome. Ramón Menéndez Pidal writes of the Virgilian tradition in the *romanceros* of medieval Spain; and there are similar tributes from Catalonian, Dutch, Czech and Danish scholars. An Italian scholar, Bruno Nardi, gathers together the various legends that have survived in Virgil's birthplace near Mantua, on the banks of the Mincio. And a German scholar, Karl Strecker, makes a very detailed study of the literary history of Virgil's most famous verse: *Iam nova progenies caelo dimittitur alto.* In his opening essay Vincenzo Ussani points out the importance of Lactantius and the author of Constantine's Easter oration as the first witnesses to the growing belief in Virgil as a Christian prophet. Karl Strecker carries the investigation a step further. Just as many biblical quotations in medieval authors are taken, not directly from the Bible, but from the missal or the breviary; so many medieval adaptations of this famous prophecy are derived, not from Virgil's actual text, but from . . . a Christmas sermon of pseudo-Augustine. The preacher has imagined a dramatic dialogue between Christian and Jew, in which Virgil appears with the prophets of the Old Testament and confutes Jewish incredulity with his famous verse.

Ireland's share in the Virgilian tradition is commemorated in two or three essays. Mr. Gerard Murphy has written an admirable essay, entitled "Vergilian influence on the vernacular literature of medieval Ireland." Irish vernacular literature is not rich in material of this kind; and Mr. Murphy has wisely included some notes on the Latin poems of St. Columbanus (if they are his) and on the *Scotti peregrini* of the Carolingian age. Those who are interested in this aspect of the subject should look also at Mr. Raby's "Notes on Virgil, mainly in English authors"—where they will find interesting comments on the Virgilian studies of Gildas and Adamnan, and (by way of contrast) Bede. Irish interest in Virgil is proved for these early centuries by evidence of a very different type. In an exceedingly detailed analysis of the textual tradition of such Virgilian commentaries as the *Interpretationes Virgilianae* of Tiberius Claudius Donatus, the *Scholia Bernensia*, and other commentaries on Servius, Mr. C. H. Beeson, an American scholar, argues strongly for an "insular" and most probably an Irish archetype in the manuscript tradition. This is all the more noteworthy, since elsewhere in this same volume Professor Lowe argues,

from the absence of Virgilian manuscripts dating from the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, that Virgil was neglected in the schools of Merovingian Europe. For the later centuries, Mr. Murphy has noted the traces, few and far between, of Virgilian influence on Irish vernacular literature down to the twelfth century, when a revival of the art of story-telling led to the *Togail Troi* and the Irish version (or adaptation) of the *Aeneid*. This earlier interest in Virgilian studies makes it all the more surprising that Irish bardic literature of the later Middle Ages should show no trace of Virgilian influence; and that the Virgilian wizard of medieval tradition should not appear in any of the many Irish folk-tales that have been collected so far.

Enough has been said perhaps to show the wide interests of this fine volume, which contains in addition some twenty plates, either of manuscripts or medieval sculptures. Here and there, the fact that the volume was planned seven years ago is obvious: most notably, perhaps, in the presence of an essay by a Spanish scholar on the Virgilian manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid. How many of those MSS. survive to-day? But Virgil has outlived so many storms that we may apply to his manuscripts the poet's own consoling words: *O passi graviora.* The volume concludes, not unsuitably, with an enthusiastic tribute from a great scholar of the New World, Professor E. K. Rand, of Harvard, who hesitates for a moment, and then takes the plunge: "I prefer the Virgil that Dante lets me see rather than the object revealed in the scholarly pages of Teuffel and Schanz . . . . . I prefer the allegorized Virgil of Bernard Silvester to the annotated Virgil of some modern scholars. *Subiectum est homo*: really that is not a bad reading of Virgil." And that is not a bad defence of medieval humanism. A. G.

A HISTORY OF THE ART OF WAR IN THE XVIth CENTURY. By Sir Charles Oman. London: Methuen. pp. xiv + 784. 1937. 30s. net.

MR. BELLOC somewhere prescribes a canon for the historian of war—that he should view his campaigns without bias to either side—*i.e.*, that his major interest should be in war as war. This is a canon which Sir Charles Oman on the whole observes. Moreover, his pages are models of patient gleaning in the military chroniclers of the period. And if the general reader may feel that his style is not infrequently somewhat heavy-footed, somewhat wanting the *élan* which may be rightly looked for in a military narrative, he might legitimately reply that his primary purpose was not to afford entertainment for an idle hour, but rather to supply the professional student of warfare with a competent record, in which matter counts for more than manner.

The sixteenth century is an interesting period for the student of

military affairs, and this not only because it was a century of continuous war, but also and mainly because it marks a transition period in the soldier's art. This was due, of course, to the more general realisation in this period of the importance of fire-arms as a weapon of war, and to their transforming effect on tactics and strategy generally. That this effect was slow in working itself out may be seen in more than one of the analyses of battles and sieges—some fifty in number—worked out in this book. The transformation was accomplished, however, before the close of the century, and it resulted in a system of war which in its essentials continued down to the French Revolutionary Wars.

By the end of the fifteenth century the mercenary had come to be reckoned as a most important element in the fighting machine. The day had not yet come for the national army, of which Machiavelli was the tireless advocate. Hence the importance of the alien mercenary. The Swiss, who had shown their redoubtable quality as fighting men at Granson and elsewhere, were in the earlier part of the sixteenth century regarded as the dominating power in war. It was Swiss mercenaries who formed the back-bone of the host which Charles VIII of France led in his foray into Italy in 1494, thus inaugurating the series of wars which wrought so much evil throughout Europe. Later, the example of the Swiss was followed by the Germans, and throughout the century landsknechts and reiters are to be found wherever there was a market for courageous and ruthless men willing to sell themselves for the purposes of war—and very frequently the market was to be found in France. When one reads the eulogies French historians are so fond of pronouncing on the dashing qualities of French armies—the *furia francese*—one does not always realize how large a part in the charging hosts was played by alien mercenaries.

In regard to the English wars of the century Sir Charles Oman considers that the reign of Elizabeth makes " a very depressing chapter in the history of the English Art of War." Hence he dismisses this section of his work somewhat cursorily with a confession that the conduct of English troops and their officers in this period fills him with a feeling of deep humiliation. Whether or not the feeling is well-founded is not the question in a History of the Art of War. During this period Ireland was the theatre of a war which, however depressing it may be in its moral aspects, was nevertheless a successful war as regards its immediate objects. It left Ireland battered and broken, devastated by famine and disease. Its stages are traced with sufficient detail in Fynes Moryson, in the *Pacata Hibernia*, and in other contemporary sources, to make it possible to produce from their accounts an instructive section on war waged for a particular end and conditioned in its carrying out by particular circumstances. Mountjoy, to whom Sir Charles Oman briefly refers as possessed of " capacity for high

command," showed his qualities as a soldier chiefly in the Irish wars, and one feels somewhat disappointed that in a book of this compass some space was not found for even a scanty analysis of the tactics that led to his success.

While Sir Charles in general confines himself to what Mr. Belloc says is the proper business of the military historian, he now and then gives his views on persons and incidents belonging to the general history of the period. Thus he judges as between Charles V and Francis I, coming down heavily on the side of Charles. He is hard, unduly hard perhaps, on Philip II—accepting what, one must admit, is the general verdict on that enigmatic personage; though in saying this one must not forget the statement of his biographer, Major Hume, that he is the victim of "three centuries of detraction and misrepresentation." On the death of Alexander VI Sir Charles apparently accepts the poison story as a fact. Among the contemporary authorities he cites for this he mentions Burchard, who explicitly states the Pope died of a tertian fever, and Burchard is the only one of the witnesses cited who was present in Rome at the time. W. J. W.

HISTOIRE DE L'EGLISE DEPUIS LES ORIGINES JUSQU'A NOS JOURS. Vol. VI. L'Epoque carolingienne. Par Emile Amann. Paris: Bloud and Gay. 1937. 75 fr.

M. AMANN has been editor of the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* for the past fifteen years; and his contributions to that great work have established his reputation as one of the most learned Catholic scholars in France to-day. That he should have been able to produce, single-handed, a whole volume of this new composite Church History marks him out as one of the hardest working scholars in a land where hard work is traditional. M. Amann is professor of the Catholic faculty of theology at Strassburg. Possibly that fact has given him a special interest in a period of European history which saw the origins of that Middle Kingdom of Lotharingia which, though no longer a political unit, has left such profound marks on the cultural history of Europe. Charlemagne's influence is still a living force, not only in Alsace-Lorraine but also in the whole theory of Church and State, round which so many passionate struggles are being fought out to-day.

Inevitably, the reader will turn first to the story of the Donation of Charlemagne and the origins of the Papal States in Central Italy. And he will perhaps be disappointed. For this volume does not include the reign of Pepin, whose earlier donation was the essential framework of Charlemagne's action in 774 and 787. That is the pity of all these composite works. If only M. Amann had been free to tell the whole great story of the Carolingian Age—from the day when Pepin first became King of the Franks to the day when his son Charles, having

been crowned Emperor by the Pope in Rome, himself crowned his son Lewis Emperor at Aix-la-Chapelle, in a ceremony that was, as M. Amann phrases it, essentially religious but entirely a layman's act. His comment, that the simpler ceremony of Aix has proved more important in the long run than the full pomp of the papal act on Christmas Day 800, is worth noting; for the claim of the French kings to divine right can be traced back to Charlemagne.

M. Amann writes with expert authority on such problems as the development of penance in an age which saw the public, humiliating penance of Lewis the Pious. His chapter on the Forged Decretals is, as might be expected, exceptionally good. He follows M. Fournier in his theory that the Decretals (and also the Forged Capitularies) are of French origin and may be traced back, not to Reims but to Le Mans in Brittany, where the local conditions favoured so bold an assertion of ecclesiastical claims against the grandsons of Charles the Great about the year 850. His analysis of the policy of Nicholas I, who knew and used the Decretals in his controversy with Lothair II, is also most interesting. And there is an admirable chapter on the Carolingian Renaissance, as an expression of the new life that came to both Church and State with the conquests of the great Charles. M. Amann's estimate of the monastic reforms attempted by St. Benedict of Aniane under Lewis the Pious is very much more sympathetic than Abbot Butler's account of this same movement.

But the most valuable portion of this volume is perhaps the long narrative of Byzantine history, which M. Amann is always careful to bring into relation with the more spectacular achievements of the Frankish Emperor. The story of the Iconoclast heresy is only partially contained in this volume; but there is a very full account of the long dispute over the *Filioque* clause, as illustrated by the contemporary negotiations and wars between Charles and the Greeks. And the last chapter in this volume is an admirable account of the career of Photius viewed in the light of contemporary history, not in retrospect as the origin of the great schism between East and West. M. Amann contrasts the actual Photius of history, who disappears from view in 886, with the Photius who is still commemorated in the Greek rite as one of the heroes of orthodox theology; and whom Latin theologians have portrayed as the true founder of the Byzantine Church. *Peut-être ne méritait-il pas, après tout, "ni cet excès d'honneur ni cette indignité."* A. G.

JAPAN OVER ASIA. By William Henry Chamberlin. London: Duckworth. 1938. 15s. net.

THE first half of this book describes Japan's systematic expansion—northward, westward and southward. The remainder of the work deals with Japan at home—her political, economic and social life.

The description of the Japanese advance northward contains an account of the development of "Manchukuo" from a military standpoint, the speeding up of the heavy industries, the multiplication of railways of strategic importance, and so on. This eulogy is counterbalanced by the revelation of Japan's failure to colonise her new possession. For, although a scheme has been in operation to plant five million Japanese settlers in the space of twenty years, so far (since 1931) only 3,000 have arrived. Nor is the treatment of the 32 million native Chinese to the credit of their new rulers. "The rule by Japanese soldiers and bureaucrats has been harsh and alien in character," writes Mr. Chamberlin. "The South Manchuria Railway, for instance, after operating in Manchuria since 1905, did not report a single Chinese among its 180 higher officials and its 134 engineers in 1934-35 . . . In the chief repair shops of this corporation the average wages of the Japanese worker amounted to thirty sen an hour, as against seven sen an hour for the Chinese."

Before dealing with Japan's advance westward, the author gives more interesting facts—this time about the progress made by Nationalist China before the outbreak of the present conflict. "To cite only one among many similar significant facts, China now has 43,519 university students as against 481 in 1911, the year of the fall of the empire." We are also told that at Shanghai, "within a year, a quarter of a million illiterates had been given elementary training in reading and writing, along with instruction in citizenship." The progress in road-building is equally impressive: "China now has 58,000 miles of highways, as against 28,000 in 1930 and 600 in 1921."

The point of view of each nation in the present struggle is sympathetically examined, and each is represented as being in good faith—the Chinese fighting for their very existence as a nation and the Japanese militarists labouring under the inspiration of their "heaven-sent" mission. No judgment is passed on the objective merits of the case.

After dealing with Japan's programme of aggression, Mr. Chamberlin speculates on her chances of success in a defensive war against any of the Great Powers. The element of distance apparently renders her almost impregnable against effective attacks from the British and American naval bases at Singapore and Pearl Harbour—unless the attacks were simultaneous. On the other hand Russia has built up an immense Far Eastern army, much superior to the Japanese forces in equipment, in aeroplanes, in tanks and artillery. Hence the author writes: "The weak spot in Japan's scheme of sea and air defence may be summed up in the one word: Vladivostok. This Soviet Far Eastern outpost is only seven hundred miles from Tokyo by direct air line, and the flotilla of submarines there might inflict severe damage

to Japanese communications with the continent in the event of war."

In describing Japan at home, Mr. Chamberlin throws much light on the dual system of government in that country and the consequent struggle between the militarists and the economic experts. Other interesting matters treated are—the permanent agrarian crisis, the unemployment problem, the chronic budget deficits, the anachronism of Emperor worship, the efficiency of business methods, and the ceremonious politeness of Japanese private life.

The author concludes with an endeavour to estimate Japan's military and financial strength and the consequent outcome of her struggle with China. "If Japan can crush effective Chinese resistance within six months," he writes, "the military and political side of its venture will have succeeded, although the very broad question of whether Japan will have the surplus resources for effective economic exploitation will remain to be answered. On the other hand, if China after a year still has forces in the field, Japan's ultimate victory is likely to prove a Pyrrhic one." Many others, however, are of opinion that there is no ultimate victory in store for Japan—not even a Pyrrhic one.

Mr. Chamberlin's work is well documented and at the same time brightly written. It is completely free from bias, and can be confidently recommended to all intelligent people who desire to learn the truth about the Far East. T. V. F.

Politics: Theory and Practice

A HISTORY OF POLITICAL THEORY. By George H. Sabine. London: Harrap. 1937. 15s.

Professor Sabine has written a book which will be of great value to all students of political theory. It gives in a single volume a history of political speculation from Plato to Lenin which, if not complete, is yet adequate to the needs of the average student. An excellent bibliography will enable the student to supplement his knowledge of any particular period. As Professor Sabine points out in his preface, to write the whole history of Western political theory implies a range of knowledge which it is difficult to possess. At the same time a book of this kind in English has been a definite need, and the present book is a very successful effort to supply that need.

Detailed criticism would be impossible in a brief review. The account of modern political theories is, perhaps, the best part of the book. The author is particularly happy in his treatment of the Hegelian theories. He omits all the cumbersome technical apparatus, but he enables the student to appreciate what is living and significant. He is also wise in carrying his history down to present-day movements

and giving an admirable exposition of the Communism of Lenin and the political theories of Fascism.

English histories of this kind are seldom satisfactory in their treatment of the political theories of the Middle Ages. But Professor Sabine seems to have avoided the customary pitfalls. He does not ascribe to St. Augustine a conventional theory of the State or the view that the existence of the State is due to the Fall. This theory, which Otto Schilling has definitely shown to be due to a misinterpretation of certain passages of the *De Civitate Dei*, still appears in most English books. The account of St. Thomas's theories is inadequate. It is clear from the bibliography that Professor Sabine is not familiar with Otto Schilling's *Die Staats- und Sociallehre des Heiligen Thomas von Aquin*. It is obvious also that the author does not quite understand the Thomistic treatment of law. He omits much that, even in a brief treatment, is necessary to an understanding of Thomism. At times he is vague and inaccurate, as when he tells us that for St. Thomas, " no matter how lowly it may be, no being is wholly lacking in value, for it has its station, its duties and its rights." Of course, for St. Thomas, intellectual beings alone have duties and rights, a theory which moves Dean Inge to paroxysms of unqualified dissatisfaction.

Nor is it true, at a later period, that the anti-royalist theory was " specifically Jesuit." " It grew out of the part that the Order played in the remarkable counter-movement of reform in the Roman Church." Not merely was the supposed Jesuit theory a statement of the dominant medieval tradition, but precisely the same theory was held by the great Dominican theologians of the sixteenth century. It was not anti-royalist, as all these theologians regarded monarchy as absolutely the best type of government. Nor was it devised, as is often suggested, as a support to theories of the papal power. St. Robert Bellarmine states quite explicitly that it has no such connection for him, and that his theory of papal authority in temporal affairs would still be valid even on the supposition of the immediate divine authority of kings. What, in fact, is most striking in these Jesuit theologians is their extraordinary detachment. But these are small points, and in general Professor Sabine's book is an accurate and scholarly history.

D. O'K.

ASSIGNMENT IN UTOPIA. By Eugene Lyons. London: Harrap. 1938. 15s. net.

THE extraordinary ignorance of the Russian people about social and economic conditions in other countries is testified to by nearly all visitors to Russia. Among the poorer and less-educated workmen and peasants, this blissful—for it is blissful—ignorance is not unintelligible. But it is found among high officials of the Communist

Party and even among the highest members of the diplomatic corps. Only the other day, M. Butenko, the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires in Buckarest is reported to have declared : " My first glimpse of civilisation was when I was appointed to a post in the Russian Pavilion at the Paris Exhibition. I realised then that I had arrived for the first time in a land of civilisation, progress, peace and human feeling." Mr. Lyons's remarkable book confirms this fact of the simple credulity, the naive faith, of the average Russian Party-member that Soviet Russia is centuries ahead of other countries in industrialisation, efficiency and social services.

Up to recently, a parallel ignorance about the internal conditions of Russia existed among the people of other countries. But now the veil is being steadily drawn back to reveal more and more of the awful reality. Mr. Lyons's book has, perhaps, contributed more to that revelation than any other. He was a convinced Communist before he ever went to Russia. He had worn himself out in America fighting, as journalist and advocate, for the under-dog wherever the under-dog needed him. He helped to defeat what he dubs " the Clowning called Justice " when the Standard Oil Company sought to crush a certain " Big Boy " Krieger. " The dynamiting charge . . . . . was so palpably a frame-up that no one even pretended it was anything else." He was in the thick of the fight on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti. He worked for Tass, the Soviet news agency in America, and while there had to go through the conversion to Stalinism from Trotskyism —a conversion, it seems, never quite complete. But he went to Russia in 1928 with his wife and five-year-old daughter in the humour, as he himself says, of one " sailing for the land of our dreams."

The first portion of his account of the six years he spent in Russia is entitled " Hallelujah ! " The second is called " Doubts " ; the third " Disillusionment " ; the fourth " Rededication." The human story expressed by these key-words is told in some six hundred pages of vivid, sparkling, buoyant journalism : the American idiom at its best and at its least Americanese. Indeed, one of the striking features of the book is its prose style : it is hardly good English in the ordinary sense, but it is strikingly pleasant and admirably suited to convey Mr. Lyons's particular story and particular outlook. It is neither irritating nor vulgar nor dull ; and although it leaves on the reader the impression of speed and strict economy of phrase, yet there are passages of leisurely description, detailed analysis, and meditative reflection which are very satisfying. It is a well-written book—very interesting and informative, ardently sincere, humorous, balanced and reasoned ; a book that carries the stamp of truthfulness and inspires confidence in the judgments and the restrained, though acute and penetrating, criticisms of its author.

When Lyons arrived in 1928 at Moscow, " Nep," the New Economic Policy of " socialist-capitalist compromise introduced by Lenin in 1921, was in process of liquidation." A new middle class of Nepmen had grown up, and Stalin determined to choke it to death. Mr. Lyons describes its death, which was the first event of importance to meet him in Russia. " Only Hitler's treatment of the Jews in Germany a few years later gave the world anything resembling this systematic persecution of a large class of the population. . . . . The shadow of the new epoch was settling over the land. It was to deepen visibly month by month, and was not to lift for nearly five years."

Those five years, with all their excitements and alarms, their framed-up trials, their famines, their murders, are told to us as seen by an experienced and capable journalist, writing not as an outsider but as a sympathiser and friendly resident in the country. There are innumerable little touches of social intercourse with Russians and intimate details of their domestic life that make the story live. Incidents of journalistic practice—scoops, rumours, disappointments, censors—are all related. Famous names take on a new meaning, a new character : Tomsky, Radek, Kirov, Kamenev—we are able to fit them into their proper place in the sinister, bloody jig-saw puzzle of the newspaper paragraphs that tease and bewilder us all so frequently.

And friend and all of Communism as he was, Lyons had eventually to leave Russia as a *persona minus grata* at the best. One of his last chapters is called a *Tour of Tyrannies.* " I left Russia and Europe convinced that the immediate task . . . . . is to defend the basic concepts of freedom, humaneness, intellectual integrity, respect for life. The triumph of any new economic system will be an empty victory, a tragic retrogression, if these concepts are insulted and expunged in the process. They must be defended from Bolshevik onslaughts no less than from fascist or capitalist onslaughts. If the certainty of a full belly is to be made the only goal of socialism (and Russia, or any other country, may attain that goal in time) then the inmates of Sing Sing and Leavenworth Penitentiary are already living under socialism."

An extraordinary confession, surely, from one who still believes in the materialistic conception of history. He goes on : " Stalin stands as the symbol of the ' permanent transition ' which has taken the place of the permanent revolution once basic in socialistic thinking. The purity of his motives and his fitness for the job are of only academic interest. Like his Romanov predecessor, Stalin works his will through governmental machinery : a Politburo, a Cabinet, a Central Committee, an impotent legislature. What is crucially important is the restoration of a single, personal incarnation of the state. The ancient Russian symbol of absolutism, the ' Little Father,' is again enthroned. . . . .

Stalin is without the cool genius of a Lenin, without the flamboyant talents of a Mussolini, without the hysterical fervor of a Hitler. An uninspired practical politician, this slow-moving, slow-thinking but implacable Caucasian has hoarded and organized power slowly through his years and made himself the strongest person on the face of the earth. Reckoned by numbers who willingly or under coercion bring him allegiance, Stalin's temporal empire dwarfs Caesar's and Napoleon's, and it has a spiritual content theirs did not possess."

Enough has been said to illustrate the content and style of this important book. It would be a good thing if every Catholic study-club secured a copy and made it their text-book for a few months study. The members would not be bored, and would learn more about the evils of socialism than any ordinary text-book could teach them.

E. J. C.

English Literature

LYRA MARTYRUM. The Poetry of the English Martyrs 1503-1681. By the Rev. Sir John R. O'Connell. Burns Oates and Washbourne. n.d. pp. 122. 6s.

ENGLISH CATHOLIC POETS. Chaucer to Dryden. By Elbridge Colby. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company; Dublin: Fitzpatrick. 1936. pp. 208. 9s. 6d.

DAS KATHOLISCHE SCHRIFTTUM IM HEUTIGEN ENGLAND. Von Joseph Metzger. Verlag Kösel-Pustet. Munich. 1937. pp. 407. No price given.

THE HOLY EUCHARIST IN MIDDLE ENGLISH HOMILETIC AND DEVOTIONAL VERSE. By Sister Loretta McGarry, A.M. Catholic University of America. 1936. pp. 283.

The Rev. Sir John O'Connell's anthology is, as anthologies should be, pleasantly designed and printed. Its contents are valuable, particularly because, although St. Thomas More and R. Southwell are easily accessible, the other four poets—Philip Earl of Arundel, B. Henry Walpole, S.J. and the Ven. Fathers Thulis and Postgate—are not. Excellent bibliographical notes will enable the reader to pursue these writers further. It is a pity that the texts are, in a somewhat irregular and inconsistent way, modernised in spelling and often in wording; but on the whole this editorial work will make the book easier for most readers. To be consistent in these matters is difficult, and it entails a considerable apparatus of notes and explanations.

It is to be hoped that in a second edition Tichborne will be included; he was a Catholic martyr and a very good poet.

Mr. Colby has not written an account of *all* the definitely Catholic poets, including minors—poets like the less known ones in the anthology

spoken of above; many more considerable names are missing from his list. Nor, deciding to write on the principal Catholic poets and on the other English poets who were in some notable way Catholic, has he made an altogether satisfactory choice. It might seem that Donne should come into it, because he was for a time a Catholic, and his thought always remained largely Catholic, but Mr. Colby does not mention him. He says a good deal of Marlowe, though Marlowe seems to have disliked Rome more than most of the poets, because of the religious interest in *Faustus*; but he omits Spenser, who has a great deal of distinctly Catholic thought and feeling.

Mr. Colby calls Crashaw's best lines "lyric of a superior level"; he speaks of Pembroke as having "fostered old Dr. Johnson"; he opines that the Miller's and Reeve's Tales are "a little coarse in tone"; and he attributes to Mr. Noyes some of Keats's best known lines, and thanks Mr. Noyes's publisher for permission to print them. The book is not for the scholar or the student; but it is written with zest and fluency, and the general reader will thank Mr. Colby for lively sketches of Chaucer, Piers Plowman, and the Catholic element in Shakespeare.

Dr. Metzger's book, notwithstanding its title, includes Ireland and Irish Catholic writing. It is a work of amazing industry, and of surprising accuracy considering the amount of detail it contains. The literary critic may feel acutely the insensitiveness of many of the remarks on the greater writers, and he may resent or be amused by the space given to rather inconsiderable people. But this does not mean that the book is not a good one; as a directory or guide-book to modern Catholic writing it will be extremely useful. If you want to know what Catholics have done in detective fiction, for example—one does not often want to know things like that, but a reference book must provide for even remote possibilities—you need only turn to the section *Kriminal- und Mordgeschichten.* Periodicals are not fully treated.

Sister Loretta McGarry brings together the many references to the Holy Eucharist in religious verse from 1300 to 1500. Various changes in rite and practice, here explained, have made many of these references obscure to the ordinary Catholic and the ordinary English scholar. Again, figurative and symbolic references are frequent, and they have often been misunderstood. The author explains a number of passages of this sort with reverence, scholarship, and admirable clarity of style. The book is a valuable contribution to medieval English studies.

J. J. H.

THE WORKS OF MORRIS AND OF YEATS IN RELATION TO EARLY SAGA LITERATURE. By Dorothy M. Hoare. Cambridge University Press. 1937. pp. 179. 6s.

The terms of reference of this study are adequately expressed in the lengthy title. In the Preface the author says: "Two main questions arise: (1) What is the specific difference between the sagas and the works of Morris and Yeats? (2) Is this difference merely one of place or time or is it fundamental?"

In order to answer the first of these questions, Miss Hoare analyses carefully the spirit of the early Irish and Icelandic sagas, and institutes a comparison between their character and that of the modern works which are based on them. This comparison in the case of some of the poems is minute and searching. Miss Hoare's study of the early Irish sagas in the introductory chapter is very acute, though she would seem to undervalue somewhat "the literary interest" of Irish saga (p. 26). The author's answer to her first question is very decisive. On the relation of the work of Yeats to Irish saga she concludes: "In his plays and poems the fierce active response to life evinced in Irish saga is altered to an essentially 'literary' dallying with dream, and with the tapestries of dream" (p. 140). Earlier in the book she had stated the conclusion that "Irish saga . . . . . is the product and record of a fierce, active life, which holds no dallying with the dream world" (p. 26). Yeats created from Irish saga "a land of romantic mirage where the values of reality do not enter" (p. 141). These views will be already familiar to readers of *Studies*. Working independently, Miss Hoare has arrived at the same conclusion as that presented by the present reviewer in two articles on "The Celtic Twilight" which appeared in *Studies* in March and June, 1934. Unwittingly, too, she has fulfilled a hope which was there expressed, that someone would write an essay on "that Fourth Sorrow of Story-telling, the tragic fate of Deirdre at the hands of the Anglo-Irish dramatists." This Miss Hoare has done in the second part of chapter five: Versions of *The Sons of Uisneach*. The Romantic Attitude.

In answer to her second question the author has "tried to show that the difference is one between a life where the actual facts of existence are easily assimilated by art, and the modern world where the task of co-ordinating the raw material of experience may become too difficult for all but poets of the first order." (p. vii). This theory is expounded in the concluding chapter. But, as an explanation of Yeats's reaction from reality towards dreams, it would seem to be at least superfluous. We know from the *Autobiographies* and from other sources that the Yeats who delved into Irish saga was at the same time poring over Sinnett's *Esoteric Buddhism* and imbibing wisdom from the charlatan Blavatsky and from his "Brahmin philospher." F. S.

Books Received

ANCEL, A. Marxisme et Famille. (F.N.C., 4 fr.).
ANSON, PETER. Catholic Church in Scotland, 1560-1937. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
BARZUM, JACQUES. Race. A Study in Modern Superstition. (Methuen, 10/6).
BEASLAI, PIARAS. Michael Collins. Soldier and Statesman. (Talbot Press, 7/6).
BERNOVILLE, GAETAN. The Jesuits. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
BIVORT DE LA SAUDEE, J. DE. Communism and Antireligion. (Burns Oates, 3/6).
BON, HENRI. Précis de Médecine catholique. (Alcan, 40 fr.).
BONNER, FR. A. The Catholic Doctor. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
BRUNO DE JESUS-MARIE, R. P. Madame Acarie. Epouse et Mystique. (Desclée, 12 fr.).
CALCAGNO, F. X. Philosophia Scholastica. Psychologia et Theologia Naturalis. (Naples : M. d'Auria, L. 16).
CALLAN, LOUIS. Society of the Sacred Heart in North America. (Longmans, $5.00).
CARTHAGE, FATHER. The Story of Saint Carthage. (Browne & Nolan, 4/-).
CHARLTON, H. B. Shakespearian Comedy. (Methuen, 10/6).
COQUELLE-VIANCE, G. Un Ordre corporatif francais. (F. N. C., 6 fr.).
CURTIS, EDMUND. Calendar of Ormond Deeds. Vol. IV. (Stationery Office, 20/-).
DERRICK, MICHAEL. The Portugal of Salazar. (Sands, 5/-).
DIMIER, LOUIS. Dom Guéranger. Les Meilleurs Textes. (Desclée, 18 fr.).
D'ORMESSON, WLADIMIR. Adieux. Souvenirs sur Lyautey. (Spes, 12 fr.).
DUTHEIL, MARCEL. La Population allemande. (Payot, 25 fr.).
D. S. Le Paysan russe sous le Régime des Soviets. (F. N. C., 1 fr. 50).
EYRE, EDWARD (Editor). European Civilization. Vol. VI. (Oxford Press, 25/-).
FORD, FORD MADOX. Mightier than the Sword. (Allen & Unwin, 10/6).
GARNIER, ADRIEN. La Femme dans le Laicat. (Desclée, 15 fr.).
GOODIER, ARCHBISHOP. History and Religion. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
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GRUENDER, H. Problems of Psychology. (Bruce, $1.85).
HOLDSWORTH, SIR W. History of English Law. Vols. X-XII. (Methuen, 32/6 each).
HUDLESTON, ROGER (Editor). The Spiritual Letters of Dom John Chapman. 2nd edition enlarged. (Sheed & Ward, 5/-).
HUGHES, PHILIP. Pope Pius XI. (Sheed & Ward, 8/6).
KEELER, LEO. S. Thomae Aquinatis Tractatus de Spiritualibus Creaturis. (Universitas Gregoriana, pp. 163).
LAGRANGE, M. J. Les Mystères. L'Orphisme (Gabalda, 75 fr.).
LEE, G. Life of the Venerable Francis Libermann. (Burns Oates, 6/-).
LENOIR, CLAUDE. Le Scoutisme francais. (Payot, 25 fr.).
LEWIS (HENRY) and PEDERSEN (HOLGER). A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar. Goettingen : Vandenhoeck ; Oxford : Blackwell, 28/-).
LIMAGNE, PIERRE. Orage sur la Maison Boutière. (Bloud & Gay, 15 fr.).
LONG, E. The Church prays for her Dead. (C.T.S.I., 2/6).
LOOMBA, RAM MURTI. Bradley and Bergson. A Comparative Study. (Lucknow : India Publishing House, pp. 196).
LORTZ, JOSEPH. History of the Church. (Bruce, $3.50).
MCNABB, VINCENT. The Church and Reunion. (Burns Oates, 6/-).
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O'RAFFERTY, N. Instructions in Christian Doctrine. Apostles' Creed. (Bruce. $2.75).
POLLOCK, J. H. The Moth and the Star. (Talbot Press, 7/6).
POUCEL, VICTOR. Plaidoyer pour le Corps. Mystique de la Terre. (Plon, 20 fr.).
POWER, PATRICK. Waterford and Lismore. History of the United Dioceses. (Cork University Press ; Educational Co., 7/6).
SMITH, GEORGE. Mary's Part in our Redemption. (Burns Oates, 6/-).
ROMEYER, B. La Philosophie chrétienne. Tome III. (Bloud and Gay, 12 fr.)
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THURSTON, HERBERT (Editor). Miss Kate. (Burns Oates, 3/6).
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WALSH, JAMES. High Points of Medieval Culture. (Bruce, $2.75).
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WARD, MAISIE. Insurrection *versus* Resurrection. (Sheed & Ward, 15/-).
(Various Authors). Modern Sacred Art. An International Annual Review edited by Joan Morris. (Sands, 7/6).

The Catholic Who's Who, 1938 ; The Catholic Directory, 1938. (Burns Oates, 6/- and 3/6).
The Irish Jesuit Directory, 1938. ("Irish Messenger" Office, 1/-).
Roman Martyrology. Revised Edition of the English Translation. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
Report of the Department of Education. 1935-1936. (Stationery Office, 2/6).

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